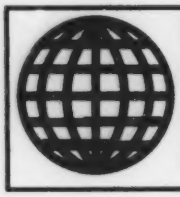

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Daily Report

Supplement

Soviet Union

28th CPSU Congress

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Soviet Union
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28th CPSU Congress

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PRAVDA Carries Gorbachev 2 July Report

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["Advancing Further Along the Path of Perestroyka. Report by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev 'CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the 28th CPSU Congress and the Party's Tasks'"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Comrades: In five years, we have made a revolutionary leap forward in all spheres of life, and this has enabled us to reach the main crossroads. The question today is this: Either Soviet society will go forward along the path of the profound transformations that have been begun—and then, I am convinced our great state of many nations has a worthy future in store—or the counterperestroyka forces will gain the upper hand—and then there will be, let us face the truth squarely, dark times ahead for the country and the people. So we will be talking frankly. We cannot put off our assessments and conclusions: We must, as they say, dot the "i's" on all the cardinal issues of the current stage of perestroyka, which have, indeed, been the focus of the pre-congress discussion. Is the change of direction, begun in April 1985, justified? What sense do we give today to the concept of socialism? By what principles do we intend to be guided in domestic and foreign policy? How are we to overcome the crisis phenomena that are affecting the life of the people and rightly arousing discontent? What is the destiny of our homeland, and how are we going to build a union of sovereign states?

What is the place of the party under the new conditions? What should it, itself, become politically, ideologically, and organizationally? What should we do for the rebirth of the CPSU as a revolutionary organization of the workers, enjoying the people's confidence?

I. On the Current Period

The situation in which our society has found itself today is the subject of acute disputes and feelings and at times also of mutally excluding evaluations. The roots of all anxieties and concerns, if you wish, are in the current moment. The answer to the question of what we are to do and how we are to carry on is also here.

It is correct to understand the special nature of the current moment. This can only be done by taking into account the scale of the whole diversity of the changes that have taken place in society over the past five years. Revolutionary changes really have occurred in the country and we should see the whole picture of the transformations. In place of the Stalinist model of socialism we are becoming a citizens society of free people. The political system is being transformed radically, genuine democracy with free elections, the existence of many parties and human rights is becoming established, and real people's power is being revived. Production relations, which have served as a source of the workers' alienation from property and from the results of their labor, are being dismantled. The conditions for free competition among socialist producers are being created. The transformation of the supercentralized state into a true union state founded on self-determination and the voluntary unity of the peoples has begun. In place of an atmosphere of ideological dictatorship we have come to freedom of thought and glasnost and openess about information in society. The new poltical thinking has helped us to see in a different way and to evaluate the world around us in a realistic manner and it has freed us from a confrontational approach in our foreign policies. The USSR has become a country that is open to the world and to cooperation, which evinces not fear but respect and solidarity.

After April 1985 we told people the truth, we rejected false conceit, and have acknowledged that we have not in fact been able to provide them with a worthy life. We have decisively condemned the crimes of the authoritarian-bureaucratic structure and have restored the good names of many thousands of people who were the victims of illegal repressions. All of this has caused a genuine turning-point in people's minds. Life has become richer, more full of content, and more interesting but it has not become simpler or easier. Various poltiical currents have arisen, are interacting, and are confronting each other. The interests of the most diverse groups and strata of the population have been set in motion and are clashing.

Perestroyka has revived people's sense of their own dignity but has also raised what they ask of their standard of living and given rise to great expectations of rapid change for the better. The Soviet person today will not accept what he has put up with in the past without a murmur. He looks with understandable alarm and indignation upon the negative phenomena that accompany the turbulent and, in essence, healthy process of perestroyka like scum on the surface.

It is from this that confusion stems in people's minds, nervousness, excessively spontaneous enthusiasm for meetings, the flood of accusations and claims. Enough of these have been heard of late, including at the Congress of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation. We will not advance, comrades, in our analysis of the situation if we are distracted from the substantial contradiction that is typical of that situation. On the one hand what we are doing is fundamentally altering our society and determining what it will be like in the years and decades ahead. On the other, we are faced with a mass of unsolved problems that burden the daily life of the people.

It is important to have a grasp of the dialectic inherent here. We cannot get away from the question of why the perestroyka process, which was successfully initiated and which, measured in historical terms, has already given society so much, has failed to deliver cures for its many ills. In a certain sense, the situation has even deteriorated. This refers above all to the consumer market and

indeed, to the economy as a whole, to public order and relations between the nationalities.

A clear and well-founded answer to the question of why this has happened is important in order to draw conclusions as to what do to in the future and how to do it. It is also essential in order to strengthen people's faith in perestroyka. After all, some people are now saying: What's going on there? A kind of position has formed. Perestroyka is to blame for all our current misfortunes. Excuse me for putting it so abruptly but this is quite simply nonsense. They say such things because they are unwilling or unable to look with open eyes at facts that everybody else can see. And maybe they say such things because they have certain goals in mind.

We have inherited an extremely difficult legacy. Let us remember and reason together. The neglect of the countryside, of the agricultural and processing industry—do you think it arose yesterday, after 1985? And yet that is what determines the food situation today and the conditions of the peasants in the countryside, and their life today.

The lamentable state of our forests, rivers, the millions of hectares of fertile lands that have been drowned as a result of previous policy in the field of power engineering: Is this supposed to be the doing of the past few years? The serious ecological situation: more than 100 towns disaster zones, over 1,000 enterprises that have been halted for this reason, the drama of Baykal, the Aral Sea, Lake Ladoga, the Sea of Azov, Chernobyl and other accidents, disasters on the railways and gas pipelines: Is this not all the consequence of the policy conducted over the past decades?

Was not the structure of the economy, where only one-seventh of the production assets of industry are concentrated on the output of consumer goods, laid back down in the 1930's, and preserved since that time? Or the problems of the Kuzbass, Donbass, Tyumen, Vorkuta—after all, the situation in which the social sphere has found itself here has built up over decades. And everything that has burst out on the surface today in the interethnic relations, does it not have its roots in the past?

I am not even speaking of the militarization of the economy, which swallowed up huge material and intellectual resources—and the best of them to boot—or of the irreplaceable human losses arising from the war in Afghanistan.

Let us be objective and principled. In politics on the grand scale we must not come under the sway of petty passions. This is why, when people say that "it's time to stop blaming the past"; when all the difficulties are laid at the door of perestroyka, we cannot agree to this. Yes, the task of all of us is to correct matters, to change everything for the best, to improve people's lives. But we must not make out that everything that we have to deal with today is the consequence of perestroyka. If we are confused in our evaluations, we might also be confused in our actions and practical work.

When I speak of all this, comrades, I do not, of course, in any way want to weaken the evaluations and conclusions as to the activity of the Central Committee, of the Politburo, and of the Communist Party members active in party, soviet, and economic bodies in the republics and in the localities.

We could have foreseen a lot. We need not have allowed the development of processes—above all in the economy and the social sphere, in interethnic relations, and in the sphere of culture and ideology. The Politburo does not absolve itself of responsibility for these errors. During my report, when examining specific questions, I intend to speak in more detail about this.

The agenda envisages reports-back from members of the Politburo, from candidate members of the Politburo, and secretaries of the Central Committee. So delegates will have a chance to obtain the essential information about the activity of the leading bodies of the party. But as I understand it, the congress has not gathered in order to hold a summary trial. We need to continue our analysis of the causes, and to evaluate correctly the situation in which the country was when the need for revolutionary transformations first faced us. These changes brooked no delay, because the USSR was travelling at an ever-increasing speed toward becoming a second-rate state. By the beginning of the 1980's it was clear that our apparent prosperity was being maintained at the price of a barbaric, wasteful use of natural and human resources. One can say plainly that we would very soon have reached a catastrophic situation with unpredictable consequences.

We must examine the results of our work over the five years since the 27th party congress just as thoroughly. In order to understand the current moment correctly, we must, above all, not lose sight of the imperfections of perestroyka itself. We are in a transitional period, when the dismantling of the previous system has not been completed, and the construction of a new one even less so. This means we must act more decisively, for delay will make the situation in the country worse.

One of the serious reasons why it has been difficult for us to achieve so many things is opposition to the changes on the part of the bureaucratic stratum of the administrative structure and the social forces connected with them. Of course, we realized that perestroyka would inevitably affect the interests of those who held real power in their hands, and who disposed of public wealth on behalf of the people. The current position of part of the leading cadres who are devoted to the past, and who in essence cannot in any way integrate themselves into the perestroyka processes, and furthermore do not accept them either politically or psychologically, is clear to us. We must see that unless we overcome the position of these

workers—as I have said, they are present in the administrative structure at all levels—then perestroyka processes will be exacerbated.

The position of the CPSU on this issue is of essential importance. Of course we cannot permit simplified evaluations and conclusions, still less the persecution of cadres. There were and are qualified specialists who have done a lot of useful things for the country. Now, too, they are giving their minds and talents to the business of perestroyka. Many of them have already achieved outstanding results over these years. And this is not tens or hundreds, but thousands of them. But I am speaking of those who obstinately cling to the past, slow down the renewal of society, stand across the road to the changes taking place in society, and, furthermore, are trying to defend their conversative position under the flag of struggling for the people's interests, for the purity of ideological principles.

Implementing the tasks of perestroyka is seriously complicated by the stepping up of nationalistic and all sorts of destructive forces, which are trying to make use of public energy for their selfish aims, and do not stop at destabilizing the situation for the sake of achieving them. This is why conflicts flare up, now here, now there.

Neither should one close one's eyes to the fact that forces have been revealed in society pushing us toward a bourgeois system and linking up the way out of the present complex situation with transferring the country onto a capitalist track.

Now that we are embarking on the decisive phase of the changes in all spheres of life, we cannot fail to pay attention to the phenomenon of the interactions of the most extreme trends, of various destructive and extremist forces. They are even uniting in order to confuse people and deflect us from the main direction of perestroyka.

We should also be aware of this inasmuch as in entering the stage of decisive transformations in the country the party is thereby grasping the strategic initiative of perestroyka and is again coming forward as the consolidating force of society offering responsible solutions in the interests of the people.

In general, comrades, when we evaluate the present period of time and try to understand the reasons for crisis phenomena we must see that the past and the present, and the contradictions of the transitional period and the complex intertwinings of interests, political calculations, and objective and subjective factors have become fused here. I would only like to emphasize that there is understanding both in the party and in society that we must now unite all healthy forces and get out as quickly as possible from this difficult period of development.

I think that should our perestroyka suffer defeat then this will be only in the event that some one or other managed to split the democratic forces anchored firmly to the positions of perestroyka. We need an interrelated complex of practical and effective measures within the framework of the implementation of economic reform. Immediate measures designed to stabilize the political and social atmosphere in the country and to strengthen legality and law and order are necessary. We must work now, without putting this off for a single day, on the drawing up of a new Union treaty that will form the basis for deep transformations of our multinational state. We must give special priority to solving the food problem and improving supplies of industrial goods to the population. It is precisely on the implementation of these urgent tasks that the efforts of all party organizations should be concentrated.

Everything must be done to ensure that perestroyka develops as a peaceful revolution, moving the country on—within the framework of the socialist option—to new qualitative levels without upheavals, the main victims of which are always the people. We must create every democratic condition conducive to truly talented people coming to power—people who are devoted to perestroyka, who express the spirit of the times, the mood of the masses, and who are capable of getting things done. Now, as never before, we need the utmost harmony in society. Now is not the time for ultimatums and conflicts, and for ill-thought-through actions that disunite people and complicate the situation still further.

The mood in favor of uniting efforts is now gaining in strength. In this regard I would like to appeal to the miners' collectives from this tribunal to support this feeling in society, on the understanding that work on resolving justly raised matters has to be brought to conclusion. These, comrades, are my considerations regarding the current period in the country, in the most concise form.

II. The Policy of Perestroyka: Experience and Prospects

Comrades, one of the cardinal provisions in the strategy elaborated by the 27th party congress was the directive for a social reorientation of the economy and for its development in the direction of people. What has been done here? First and foremost, corrections have been made to structural policy. This has led to a situation in which, in the current five-year-plan period, the rate of growth of sectors producing consumer goods has become considerably higher than in the sectors producing the means of production. To use our commonly accepted terminology, for the first time group B is developing more dynamically compared with group A. A transfer of capital into the sphere directly affecting people has begun, into the sectors working for people. This tendency is extremely important for our immense economy, and we have to do everything not only to strengthen it but also to develop it still further.

Already during implementation of the five-year-plan, additional steps have been taken so as to overcome the principle of funding from residue in the financing of the social sphere. Over the first four years, R34 billion above

the five-year-plan target have been allocated to nonproductive construction. In all, more than R246 billion have been used for these purposes, and the average annual rate of growth in nonproductive investments has nearly doubled, from 4.7 percent in the 11th five-year-plan to 8.8 percent in the current five-year-plan.

This is quite a serious maneuver. It will make it possible over five years to commission 100 million square meters of housing more than in the preceding five-year-plan period. We have reached such a scale in housing construction for the first time. The commissioning of other social and cultural facilities has also increased. On average, annually over these years there have been commissioned in the country 38 percent more schools in terms of places than in the last five-year-plan period, 10 percent more children's establishments, 15 percent more hospitals, 38 percent more polyclinics, 51 percent more clubs and houses of culture, and seven percent more trading enterprises.

I will single out in particular the provision of goods to the population. The situation here is extremely difficult. I subscribe to everything that has been said in this regard, and that will most probably be said over the next few days, and I solidarize with the harshest criticism on this matter. However, merely inflaming passions will not increase the supply of goods. Sober assessments, well-considered conclusions, and practical steps are what are needed. And it is precisely this that Soviet people expect of us, as I understand it.

What is actually happening here? If one takes statistics, and even if one makes the comparison not in value indices but in kind, one can see a certain positive movement in many food products and consumer goods. For instance, we have obtained an average of 26.6 million tonnes more grain per year compared to the last five-year period. This is a substantial increase. Production of meat has also increased, by 2.5 million tonnes, in terms of carcass weight. Production of milk, sugar beet, and sunflower have also increased, though the indices here are considerably lower. Actual production in meters and volume of fabrics, knitted goods, color televisions, tape recorders, refrigerators, washing machines, and other domestic appliances has gone up.

Conversion of defense industries is starting to yield the first results. In the period January to May of this year, consumer goods output at the enterprises of these industries went up by 22 percent. If in the past, the average annual increment in the goods turnover amounted to R10 billion to R12 billion, in the current five-year period it has been R20 billion and last year R38 billion. Per capita consumption has increased. All this is true and yet at the same time the situation on the consumer market has not only not eased, but in many instances, has become aggravated and simply intolerable. I would even say that this was the critical point in the country's social and economic situation and this has arisen primarily because money incomes have grown far more rapidly than the manufacture of goods.

What's going on here? First of all, along with the expansion of economic rights and the independence of enterprises, the rigid controls on the correlation between growth in labor productivity and pay have been eliminated, and at many enterprises the latter has left output production growth considerably far behind. Second, far from everything was properly thought through as the cooperative movement was developed. Alongside the useful things that the cooperatives have done and continue to do, a channel has formed for turning non-cash monies into cash and it is, moreover, a matter of billions of rubles. Third, decisions made to change the situation and to bring order to capital construction have not been implemented. The practice of dragging out construction projects continues, which leads to material resources being withdrawn from circulation rather than transferred into the market. Add to this expenditure on construction workers' pay for unfinished facilities. All this also amounts to billions of rubles. The implementation of decisions to increase the salaries of teachers, doctors, and other categories of working people, to increase pensions and grants has naturally also affected the growth in money incomes. As a result of all this, last year alone, the increase in the population's money incomes reached R64 billion against the R12 billion to R15 billion normal in previous years. This situation has been maintained this year as well.

Naturally, a question can be asked as to whether miscalculations in the work could have been avoided and negative tendencies in the economy prevented. At any rate, this must be put bluntly: These consequences could have been considerably less if the government had ensured a comprehensive approach to the implementation of the economic reform and managed to counteract the pressure exerted by the industries and the old structures of economic management which have been striving to preserve their position and their administrative command methods of work. That is when the Politburo should have come to the aid of the government, placing greater demands on it and giving it its support. And admittedly, such signals came from society, economic service, and in particular from the Economic Department of the Central Committee. But, nevertheless, that did not happen although debates on the issue were held many times. At any rate, all that was supposed to have been done was not done, and therefore we bear direct responsibility for this exacerbation of the situation in the consumer market, which has worsened the whole situation in the whole country.

This is a serious lesson for our work. It is from precisely this that the persistent need for acceleration and radicalization of economic reform arises. We cannot go on living with a system of economic management that rejects scientific and technical progress and new technology, that propogates the principle of expenditure and gives rise to extravagance and losses. As before, the country's outlay of material resources is two to two-and-a-half times greater than in the developed countries and of fuel and energy one-and-a-half times greater per

unit of output. Vast numbers of enterprises are unprofitable. Subsidies from the state amount to R23 billion. That is without even mentioning vast losses of grain, cement, metal, oil, mineral fertilizers, timber, and many other resources. Given such a system of economic management, the state cannot be wealthy nor the people prosperous.

We cannot carry on like this. We have to change the system so as to ensure a considerable improvement in the people's standard of living, not in the distant future, but very soon.

In this way, the very logic of perestroyka, the urgency of the social and economic situation in the country have brought us face to face with the need for fundamental changes to the economic system. It is a matter of forming a new economic model that would be multilayered with various forms of property and economic management and an up-to-date market infrastructure. In this way space for business activity and people's initiative would be opened up and new, powerful incentives for fruitful work and a growth in economic efficiency would be created. We put this task forward in the initial stage of perestroyka but it is only now that we have a degree of experience of working in the economy and using the new forms of economic management and that major steps in the area of political reform have been implemented and a number of most important laws adopted, primarily those on property, land, lease- holding etc. that we can effectively embark upon carrying out tasks for switching to the market.

Of course, a lot still has to be done in order to embark on the transition to a market economy. And work is at present being done in this direction. Urgent measures will also be required here in the sphere of the normalization of the consumer market, and to tie up money supply surpluses, to improve the state budget, and a lot else. Facing us in the shape of a practical task is the successful completion of the present economic year. By demonstrating initiative and enterprise, labor collectives must do everything to make sure that the economic results of the present year have a positive influence on the socioeconomic situation in the country.

But what worries people when they are discussing ways of moving over to the market ecoomy? Will this not lead to a drop in the standard of living and to the staking out of social boundaries within society? Will social justice and the protection of people be safeguarded? Communists are asking these questions, and they are worrying everyone: working people and people on a pension, men and women, veterans and young people. It is precisely because of the fact that they were not elaborated in the requisite manner when the government program was being prepared that there arose in society a very critical attitude toward it. There must be total clarity here.

First of all about the market itself. It has gone through a thousand-year evolution from the uncontrolled exchange of goods to a highly organized mechanism. We must reject voluntaristic approaches and learn how to regulate economic processes based on the law of cost and thereby create fresh powerful stimuli for economical and businesslike activity. In the conditions of the market the possibility presents itself of realistically ascertaining needs and finding ways of satisfying them effectively, balancing out demand and supply, and creating a normal and natural environment for the development of production. In general terms, we view the market not as an end in itself but as a means for raising the effectiveness of the economy and the standard of living of people. The market should help in speedily solving the task of imparting a greater social orientation to our economy and turning it toward the interests of the individual.

In its modern conception, the market denies the monopoly of one form of property, it demands variety and economic and political equality of rights. State enterprises, and collective property, cooperative or joint-stock associations, and the labor property of the farmer, craftsman, or family, all this reinforces the democratic basis of society, since working people are becoming the genuine owners of the means of production and the results of their labor. They have a personal interest in efficient work and high end results. There is no basis for exploitation here. Therefore moving toward the market we are not moving aside from socialism but to a fuller realization of society's possibilities. And this is the design of the conception of perestroyka.

Of course, the implementation of long-term major scientific and technical programs cannot be given over to the will of the market, nor can the development of fundamental science and culture, or of general state social, and ecological programs. But this must be guaranteed not by rude administrative pressure but through taxes, interest rates, privileges and sanctions, and customs tarrifs. For the state's economic policies to be effective it must master the whole complex of instruments of economic management.

The question of introducing market relations must be decided with the utmost balance. Legal acts are necessary to defend the right of people to work and the genuine possibility of choosing work. The state must support materially those who want to work but are temporarily unable to find a suitable post.

There is one further important question: property differentation in society. The possibility of property differences follows from the principles of socialism if they are linked to the character and volume of contribution to labor and a person's talent, initiative, and creativity. But we are resolutely against stratification based on unearned income or illegal privileges.

The question of prices is a special question. After discussion by the USSR Supreme Soviet, the government has been reworking its proposals in light of the critical remarks that were expressed, particularly on the reform of price formation. One can hope that as a result the optimal solution will be found. For my part, I would like

to stress that revision of retail prices cannot start without mechanisms of social protection, thought through in detail and in place. And of course the transition to a market economy cannot begin with a raising of prices. That would be absurd. I think the criticism both in society and in the Supreme Soviet—I am making a point of raising this issue in an acute form, because it has been a burning issue in society—has shown us that we have not fully thought through the actual logic, tactics, priority, and order of steps for switching to a market, and as a result, prices have emerged as pretty much the main issue. Everyone has seen that this is essentially the only thing with which the transition to a market.

We must not underestimate its importance, and we must do everything to ensure that the people are confident that at this difficult stage of the transition to new forms of economic management and new forms of economic life, the people will be socially protected and their interests will be guaranteed. In effecting the transition to a market, we must single out the measures that have first priority. Nothing prevents us from making a start immediately with turning the state enterprises into joint-stock companies; creating real freedom of business activity; leasing out small enterprises and shops; including housing, stocks, and other securities, and some of the means of production, in the sphere of buying and selling. We must speed up the formation of commodity stock markets and reform the banking system, put an interest policy into effect, and create conditions for the emergence of competing production units and associations and small and medium-sized enterprises, especially in the sphere of consumer goods production.

As far as management structures are concerned, these must be dealt with in accordance with the requirements of a market economy. Strategically, we must aim to abolish the ministries overseeing the branches of industry and reduce their number in the immediate future. It is necessary to separate, to the maximum, the economic activities of enterprises from administrative management and from the dictates of the departments.

The imparting of real economic content to the sovereignty of the republics and to local self-management are of special significance in the formation of new economic models for society. During recent times, against a background of developing crisis phenomena, tendencies toward economic isolation have started to become stronger. A break is occurring in the interregional economic links that have taken shape. They are being turned into bartering. These negative processes are being fed by separatist strivings and are being exploited by nationalist circles. We are in favor of the sphere of economic rights of the republics and the principles of their interrelations within a single national economic complex being precisely defined in the new union treaty. But at the same time enterprises' economic freedom should not be limited. The replacement of the dictates of Union departments by the dictates of republican departments must not be permitted—and this is already taking place. The foundations of management should be direct ties between independent enterprises and those associations which the enterprises and labor collectives consider it necessary to create.

The unity and the integrity of our economy is an indispensable condition for the formation of a fully fledged all-Union market. The strengthening of it and the freeing of it from monopolies are tasks of paramount importance. The economic interest of the republics and the regions in integration is a factor which is in constant operation and this where the future lies. Those who come out against this—this is a profound error.

I would like to dwell on ecological problems. The situation here is a dramatic one, in a number of regions simply one of crisis. Unfortunately the measures taken until now have not turned out to be very effective. They have not stopped the worsening of the ecological situation in the country. This problem should be approached in a new fashion. First of all, the responsibility of the enterprises themselves needs to be increased, the rights and powers of the Union republics and bodies of local self-government need to be fully promoted and very strict state and public monitoring of the observance of nature protection legislation needs to be established. At the same time, coordinated actions are needed for the protection of nature. This should also be reflected in the Union treaty. The other task is to unite intellectual and material resources, including on an international level, for the ecological salvation of the earth. All of this should be a component, an organic part, of the national program on ecology that is being elaborated.

Normalization of the Soviet economy depends to no small extent, comrades, on how its inclusion in the system of the international division of labor proceeds. It must be said that there is great activity here and the more freedom we give to enterprises, regions and republics—and we believe this is the correct path—the greater the activity and the number of ideas that emerge. Let us, however, be careful. This is not a simple matter. Improvization has already led to great losses. We will have to do a great deal to modernize our economy, to take on board new technology, to increase labor productivity, and to ensure production of competitive output. However, perhaps the most important thing is to move toward a convertible ruble.

Until recently this was spoken of as something for the distant future whereas in fact dealing with this task must not be delayed. Powerful incentives to export are required as are barriers to ineffective imports and an increase in the foreign debt. Mutually beneficial conditions must be created to attract foreign capital. The tasks related to the switch to the market and inclusion in world economic relations place great demands on our foreign economic activity. It has to be said that we have been much engaged in these issues of late, have formulated political directives about them, and already made substantial changes to this sphere through the government; but there are very many serious ommissions of late in the

work of the foreign economic departments, enterprises, and associations which have been given rights.

Of course, the overall situation has been affected by the sharp fall in world prices for raw materials and commodities, above all, for oil. As a result, our incomes in convertible currency have fallen two-fold. In these conditions, a major maneuver in both exports and imports needed to be effected. This did not, however, take place without consequences and we have all felt these both in what relates to the modernization of machine-building, since we have had to dissolve the contract on purchasing many kinds of equipment, and in what relates to the consumer market since, in the past, we used a considerable proportion of convertible currency to fill the market with commodities. The government is now drafting proposals on the whole range of problems connected with foreign economic activity.

It is a matter of extending relations with the capitalist countries and transferring to world prices in currency transactions within the framework of the CEMA. This involves a reinterpretation and the introduction of certain amendments to our cooperation with third world countries, too.

All this is happening, and the situation is going to change. But entry into the world market and incorporation of the USSR in global economic links require fundamental changes in thinking, in the approaches taken by our cadres, great knowledge, breadth of view, and an ability to do things in a new way.

I can tell you that in the country at the moment everything is being reduced to the following: Give us three, five, or 10 percent of our resources in hard currency so that we can sell them on the market and buy ourselves what we want. At first sight it all seems straightforward and natural. In the initial stage one can agree to this and we have greed to some things. But if we consider this to be the point of perestroyka in foreign economic activity we understand nothing at all.

I have to say that up until now we have been devoting clearly inadequate attention to finding an approach that will ensure retraining of cadres, perestroyka in their thinking, and the ability to do things in a new way. And this, comrades, is holding up perestroyka in the foreign economic activity of our state and in many cases has already resulted in direct losses.

One more thing. If our enterprises continue to take this attitude toward using all that we are importing to modernize our economy, if what we are acquiring with such difficulty and at the cost of hard currency lies around for years rotting and becoming obsolete instead of serving the market one can hardly expect changes for the better or to obtain the advantages to be gained from international economic cooperation. So what's needed here are rapid and decisive measures and a very well thought-out, considered and responsible approach.

Comrades, the review report at the 27th congress and the March Central Committee plenum addressed the agrarian problem in more poignant terms than ever before. It was addressed in the context of the entire fate of the countryside, the fate of the peasantry. It is also the key to solving the food problem. No individual measure of a technical or technological nature has proved capable in itself of providing us with a solution to it—this is now an obvious fact. The party's adoption of fundamentally new positions was the result of an uncompromising analysis of the history of the peasant question and agrarian relations, from the collectivization to the present day.

This analysis has led to the conclusion: The whole point must be that there are changes not only directly in the agrarian sphere but also in the attitude to the peasant and the countryside as a whole, and to the interrelationship between the working class and the peasantry and between the town and the countryside. In essence, we have returned to the fundamental Leninist understanding of the agrarian question and from here we have emerged into new approaches to the social development of the countryside and to understanding the necessity of the equivalent exchange between the basic sectors of the economy, the radical transformations of the relationships themselves of property in the countryside.

Today, comrades, when objectively assessing the situation, it is necessary to admit: These fundamental decisions have not been followed by adequate practical activity either at the government level or at the level of republican and local organs. I can understand why today the workers of agriculture and of the whole agrarian sector are in such a critical, sharp, and categorical mood. The countryside really is in need of serious measures both as regards social development and the strengthening of the material- technical base. At the congress it is necessary to work out a position on this account. We must recognize the justification of peasants submitting at various public forums the issue of the need to give powerful financial and material support to the countryside and to the whole agrarian sector.

How can this be done? In our country people have become used to approaching the matter as follows: give, distribute, and allocate from the budget. Such an administrative-distributive method is no longer acceptable. It is necessary to solve the problem of the revival of the countryside using economic methods, arranging an equivalent exchange between the town and countryside, creating economic and social priorities for the benefit of the countryside and the agro-industrial complex as a whole, demonopolizing the industry which manufactures agricultural equipment, and creating a system of machinery meeting the needs of the diverse forms of management. The necessary legislative acts and decisions of government—the implementation of which would ensure a considerable transfer of capital to the development of the countryside—must be adopted. I propose, in the shape of a legislative initiative, that this matter be submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Society must come to the assistance of the countryside. I think we have to state our position clearly on behalf of the whole party to the whole country. At the same time, I wish to emphasize that perhaps not a single branch of the national economy needs economic freedom so acutely in the present market environment as our countryside and the agrarian sector.

And things must be done for this freedom to be given. The March Central Committee plenum set as a key task the radical perestroyka of production relations in rural areas, without which there can be no economic freedom. Today, it must be stated over and over again that, unless economic relations are changed, unless new incentives are brought in for peasant labor, unless the actual position of the peasant changes, unless he becomes the true master of the land, no investments whatsoever will help. At the congress we must confirm our commitment to the policy mapped out at the March plenum of the Central Commitee.

In this connection, I want to talk about a question on which there is not just debate but also, in my view, real speculation. This is the attitude to collective and state farms. People are even alleging that the new agrarian policy calls into question their very existence. The aim of the policy is actually to establish equal opportunities for all forms of land management. Let each of them prove their viability and effectiveness. That is our principled position. And, of course, we reject the demand for "complete decollectivization."

I am convinced that those collective and state farms that are skillfully managed, provided with a social infrastructure, guarantee peasants worthy living conditions, and produce a large amount of needed output for society, deserve all kinds of support. They will naturally become an organic part of the Soviet countryside, which is renewing itself. Those collective and state farms that have been managed negligently for decades, permit losses, and live on subsidies while their managing apparatus nevertheless hinders the reform of property relations and the assimilation of new forms of management—such farms must, all the same, undergo a cardinal transformation.

And another topical issue, land reform. I will speak frankly. The law on land is not functioning at the moment. It is not just held up by the managerial structures which have taken shape and the position of the administrative and management apparatus, but also by the old psychology and the ossified stereotypes that have formed as a result of depeasantization [raskrestiyanivaniye], and the alienation of the worker from the land and the means of production under the conditions of guaranteed renumeration of labor, irrespective of the end results. And there is an acute necessity for decisive measures to be adopted. No one, of course, is proposing "total lease-contracting" in the manner of "total collectivization." I think that no one has yet hit upon setting the task of creating lease-contract collectives. This would have been a repeat of the very great stupidity that ended up in huge losses and misfortunes—which we have not to this day dealt with. The key issue is the creation of a mechanism for implementing the law on land. This issue is, incidently, being raised acutely by agricultural workers, and particularly by leaseholders, managers and specialists, and by those who want to become leaseholders. Any obstacles on the path of those who would like to engage freely in peasant farming need to be removed.

The law on land must be rigorously implemented, and in this respect, I think, the new powers of the local soviets should be used first and foremost. This is their direct obligation. I would like to inform you that the issue of progress in the land reform is being prepared for consideration at one of the next Presidential Council meetings.

Comrades, interethnic relations have deteriorated during the review period, and particularly of late. We did not realize immediately the significance of this problem; we failed to see in time the dangers lurking here. You probably remember that at the 27th CPSU Congress, on the fulfillment of whose decisions we are reporting, these issues were examined as if they had been resolved long ago and everything was quite normal in this area. But life has taught us a harsh lesson, as they say. We proved unready for what happened when some very serious problems blew up and erupted after building up for a long time under a facade of seeming prosperity. Much has become intertwined here, and I would not like to oversimplify things. Perestroyka and glasnost have created favorable conditions for the revival of national self-awareness. This is a positive process than can only be welcomed.

At the same time problems and contradictions have come to light which were engendered by mistakes in the deployment of production forces, in cultural and ethnic policy, in the development of national languages, in tackling social matters in a number of regions of the country, by the unevenness of their development, and by demographic and ecological changes. There were also historic and religious reasons. And of course, we must now pay for the crimes perpetrated once upon a time against whole peoples. It must be frankly acknowledged that in the early days, the central and local organs of power failed to treat these problems adequately and with due attention. And this has been seized upon by all manner of destructive forces, separatists, inveterate nationalists, and corrupt elements.

In a number of cases the nationalities issue and interethnic relations have taken on acute forms. Bloody clashes have taken place on ethnic grounds and there have been numerous human casualties. Refugees have appeared, thousands of people have been forced to abandon hearth and home and are wandering around, suffering severe deprivation. All this is intolerable and is causing tremendous concern in people throughout the country. Justified demands are being made of the authorities that they take

measures to restore peace and concord in our multinational state. Unfortunately, it must be recognized that not everyone has withstood the test of internationalism in these circumtances.

No small number of communists gave in to pressure and were unable to present to their people, to the working people, the arguments which would have convinced them of the danger of following the appeals of separatists and those whipping up ethnic strife. Yet there are more than enough such arguments. And I believe that it was right that party bodies came in for criticism for blunders in political work and for their inability to conduct that work in conditions of deteriorating interethnic relations. We lost much in this.

The essential conclusions were drawn from this. A platform on the party's nationalities policy was drawn up, discussed on a nationwide scale, and subsequently approved by last year's September plenum. Its main drift is the recognition of the need to route the processes of ethnic revival into a creative channel in the interests of each people and of the country as a whole. We cannot resolve the nationalities issue without continuing and intensifying perestroyka, and, for its part, perestroyka itself cannot expect to succeed if issues concerning harmonizing relations among the peoples of the country are not resolved. It seems to me that today we have a better understanding than ever before of the essence of Lenin's views of the nature and aspect of the Union as a voluntary unification of peoples linked by common economic and political interests, and by history itself.

Everything we have lived through and analyzed in recent time has led to the understanding that the transformation of the Union cannot be restricted just to the broadening—even if this be extensive—of the rights of the republics and autonomous areas. What is needed is a real union of sovereign states. It is in essence a question of establishing a state ethnic structure for our country that will make it possible to unravel the knots of contradictions, to raise cooperation among peoples to a new level, and to augment the joint political might of the Union and its economic and spiritual potential in the interests of all those who united into this great Union of states. In this way, the country's security will be reliably ensured and its international standing will be enhanced.

There remains here the demand for priority status for human rights over and above all the interests of ethnic sovereignty or autonomy. This must be enshrined in the constitutional mechanism of the Union and of each republic. From this principle, by which we are also guided on the international level, there can be no taking so much as one step backward.

In the framework of a special commission set up by the Soviet of the Federation, work is already under way to prepare a new Union treaty that incorporates the whole complex of issues to do with the fundamental transformation of our multinational state.

But if this is the case, and if we are being active in the requisite direction, and if we are hoping for radical changes for the better in the near future, then it would seem right, on behalf of our congress now, to issue an appeal to all peoples of the country to recognize how fateful the further whipping up passions in interethnic relations might be, and to stop and do battle with those inciting this, whatever dress of defending honor and dignity they might do. I believe our people are awaiting such a position on this question.

At this time, when we are embarking on profound changes in our multiethnic state, all peoples need calm, peace, and cooperation. I hope that this appeal from our congress will be heeded in all corners of our great multiethnic country.

Comrades, great work of fundamental importance has been done on political reform. We recognized the necessity of implementing it already during the course of the launched perestroyka-based processes when economic changes that were initiated came to a halt when they contradicted the former political system. The Central Committee viewed this with complete seriousness and set about the fundamental elaboration of the whole complex of problems that had arisen.

I wish to talk here about the enormous significance of the January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee held in 1987. It is there that an honest analysis of the functioning of our political regime, and of the place of the party and soviets in it, was carried out for the first time. It is then that we spoke at the top of our lungs about the need to implement the Leninist concept of the people's power.

It must be admitted, however, that the ideas of the January plenum were not accepted unequivocally by any means in the party and society, and have failed to be appropriately developed and deepened. But above all, practical steps were not taken to follow this up. It is now clear why that situation arose.

The fact is that perhaps for the first time, the issue about the responsibility of cadres was raised with such acuteness: That put some of them on the alert and affected their attitude to plenum's decisions. Under these conditions, the Politburo did not always act in a consistent and principled manner. But life has forced us to go back again to the whole range of these issues, now, moreover, under the pressure of the democratization that has been launched in this country.

That was the situation in which the idea of holding the 19th party conference was born. The main issue on its agenda was all- embracing political reform. On the basis of the principles drawn up by the conference we now have new institutes of power from top to bottom which were formed as a result of democratic elections. One can state that this is one of the main achievements of perestroyka and a major step along the road of renewing

society without which it is hardly likely that we could enter the new stage of the revolutionary transformation of society.

The process of reforming the political system is proceeding in a complex way. The roles and functions of party, state, and soviet organs and of public organizations are switching. All this is taking place, to be blunt, painfully inasmuch as it is affecting the interests of the most diverse social strata and groups of the population and the whole system of managing the country, and millions of people engaged in these matters. And all this is understandable, comrades. I wish to stress just one thing: Had we not followed this path one cannot rule out the possibility that the increasing politicization of society could have assumed a chaotic nature fraught with explosive social consequences.

In present conditions, when society is agitated and full of concern, our congress will fulfill its mission if it shows responsibility and defines the immediate aims and tasks and an action program which will consolidate both the party and society. Now is not a time for feuds but for practical actions for the advancement of perestroyka.

Just now, when the second stage of political reform has been completed, we see the party's task as assisting in the coming-into-being of the newly created bodies of people's power. Just now, revolutionary changes are taking place in the activities of republican bodies of power, under whose authority are now coming a significant number of questions earlier decided by the center. This gives them new possibilities, but again raises the questions of their responsibility for the progress of affairs and for solving social, economic, and other questions touching the everyday life of the people.

In accordance with the law on local soviets and self-government, the position of local soviets is changing in a major way. They will now have at their disposal large material resources which have to be used rationally in the interests of the development of the rayons and towns. If one adds to this that the soviet's work is taking place on a new legislative basis, in new organizational forms, that the structure and the position of the soviets' apparatus is changing fundamentally, then here there really are many vitally important tasks. We are all vitally interested in the process of the coming into being of the new bodies of authority taking place more quickly, and party committees must assist in every way possible in developing the proceses of democratization and mastering new authoritative powers by the soviets.

In the first place now, comrades, is the task of reinforcing legality and law and order. In various forums people are making categorical demands of both the party and the newly elected bodies of soviet power to halt the increasing level of crime and antisocial phenomena and to decisively reinforce law and order. The congress cannot restrict itself to a direction that the law must be in force everywhere. We have already talked about this—and more than once—but so far things are only slowly changing for the better. And for this reason we should deepen the analysis of the complicated situation which has come about and express our evaluations and proposals. First of all I would like to draw your attention to this. We must see clearly the most direct link between the condition of law and order and legality and the level of political and social stability in the country. Given that this is the case, then the activities of the newly created bodies of power in the country must be aimed in the first place at reinforcing stability. And there is no need to wait for any new directions and laws in this area. There are already sufficient political and legal means to decisively improve the situation for the better. It is necessary just to act, and to act decisively. It is very good that many soviets have understood this and have already begun to solve this problem practically, although there are still those who are at the stage of "endless meetings."

Second, it seems that much is explained by a kind of complex of uncertainty among the workers of the procuracy and the Interior Ministry bodies, and even of the courts. This complex has formed under the pressure of rallies and demonstrations and various kinds of ultimatums, or under the influence even of elected bodies, which on some pretext or another, have hindered—and just now there are many cases where they are continuing to hinder the procuracy, the militia, and the courts in ensuring the operation of the law.

We cannot accept this, comrades. We really will take things too far like this. For this reason, the party organizations must face our society and state that we are against any pressure on the law and order bodies. I am sure that the public of the country are of the same opinion.

Third, we are in favor of strengthening the law and order bodies further, equipping them with all they need, and improving the material position of staff. Incidentally, the first steps in this direction have already been taken. Soviet people support such an approach. Many soviets have even decided to look for resources on their own territory to provide the militia and law and order bodies with genuine reinforcement. However, even as they do so, Soviet people expect more effective action from the administrative bodies in reinforcing legality and protecting the rights and liberties of each individual.

Then again, comrades, an atmosphere of intolerance of illegal phenomena must be created within the country. A great deal can and should be done here by the mass media. Comrades, as we embarked on perestroyka we became clearly aware that no political, social, or economic transformations are possible without a revolution in people's minds and a spiritual revival and ideological renewal in the broadest sense of the word. I think everyone can remember the ideological vice in which society found itself before perestroyka and by what dogma and outdated notions mass consciousness was imprisoned. For this reason, thought had to be given its

freedom from the very start and minds emancipated, and this was one of the most important elements in the strategy of perestroyka.

On the initiative of the party, absurd prohibitions in spiritual life are being lifted. The yoke of Stalin's and Zhdanov's directives has been lifted. The Central Committee has on several occasions held counsel with the scientific and artistic intelligentsia; there have been many useful and substantive meetings and discussions. As early as June 1985 an important conference was held on matters of scientific and technical progress. Steps have been taken in order to overcome the gulf that had formed over the decades between party organizations and the intelligentsia. Party organs have abandoned tutelage and regulation of creative activity. The good names of many major figures in science and culture, groundlessly forced out or even just discredited, have been restored. Soviet people have been returned outstanding works of spiritual creativity. The formation of new relations between the party and the intelligentsia is not just one of the gains of perestroyka, but an important prerequisite for its further progress. Without the contribution of the intelligentsia we would be unable to reach new levels in understanding the society in which we live or the prospects for its renewal. Testimony to the spiritual ascendancy in the country over the years of perestroyka lies in the new role of the mass media. The press has revolutionized society, it has helped return millions and millions of working people to participation in public life. And herein—in spite of the existing losses, and moreover significant ones—lies its immense contribution to perestroyka.

We have a right to expect that communists and noncommunists, all journalists—at the present time when we have reached the stage of profound changes—will work with even greater responsibility, uniting all healthy forces of society for resolving the new large-scale tasks.

Comrades, in order to determine correctly the prospects of our development it was also necessary to fathom out our own history. This is perhaps one of the most difficult, painful, and at the same time, essential beneficial processes. And in this case, too, the party has taken on the initiative. The crucial factor here was the documents connected with the 70th October anniversary. A most important part of the people's acquisition of historical truth was the work on reviewing the cases of all the victims of the lawlessness during the time of the Stalinist repressions. As a result of the work of the commission of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, the party and civic honor of thousands upon thousands of communists, major leaders of the party and state, workers, peasants and intellectuals, has been restored posthumously.

The Central Committee has voiced its fundamental assessment of the policy of enforced collectivization and estrangement of the peasant from the land in rural areas, with tragic consequences for the entire country. I consider, however, that we have not yet completed this work; it must be continued.

The draft program statement for the congress, just as many other documents and speeches during the period of perestroyka, cover quite fully what we are resolutely renouncing in our past, and what we do not wish to take with us into the future. But we are opposed to the wholesale rejection of everything that our people have done since October, and we pay due tribute to all generations of Soviet people which have drawn inspiration from the socialist ideal. They wanted to make the country rich, cultured, prosperous, and they spared neither effort nor health. They defended it in the most terrible war. Their conscience before history is clean!

By decision of the Central Committee, a collective of authors is currently working on "Historical Studies of the CPSU," which will reconstruct a truthful picture of the party's life and struggle, with, I hope, scientific honesty and objectivity and on a strictly documentary basis.

At the 27th congress, the task was posed of overcoming the residual principle in the approach to the sphere of culture as a whole, and of science and education in particular. An attempt was made to reform secondary and higher education. Decisions were adopted to develop fundamental research and stimulate scientific and technical progress. But it must be said quite bluntly that as yet few advances have been made there, for the reason that the decisions adopted on these important issues have not been fulfilled. We, comrades, have obviously not come to the final realization that without a priority approach to science and education, perestroyka will lack the necessary dynamics and will constantly come up against a shortage of intellectual potential. The last decades of our own history, incidentally, bear witness to this. The fact that we lag behind the developed countries in many aspects, especially where the latest technology is concerned, is explained by our backwardness in developing science and education in the country. Yet at the same time, literally over recent years, a whole series of countries which have abruptly shot ahead in socioeconomic development began this spurt with a radical change in attitude to education and science.

In saying all this, I would not want us yet again to restrict ourselves merely to self-criticism on these matters. What is needed is that the conclusions drawn should be transformed into state policy on a broad scale. And the congress, it seems to me, should take up a clear position on this important issue.

A few words on the attitude to social sciences. The party is a determined supporter of free development of social sciences. We have a vital need for the objective testimonies and conclusions of science, and we should be more trusting in our attitude to scientists' elaborations and recommendations and should use the fruits of their labor in politics and for the well-being of the people.

And further, comrades, a wise state always highly values its intellectual and artistic achievements. And we must implement measures to remove the causes of the brain-drain and drain of talent out of the country without delay.

The congress should reflect the party's position, which advocates the free development of culture, literature, and the arts on the basis of all the wealth of world and Soviet values. A sensible degree of financial autonomy and self-recouping is possible in the cultural sphere; but one must not demand total commercialization of culture or farm it out to the market, where another sort of non-freedom and another sort of dependence await the artist, and where moral losses await society. While recognizing creative freedom, the party nevertheless declares that we are against an art that destroys and degrades man. No, there should be no censorship in art; but the artist must bear a moral responsibility before the people.

The message to the Congress of Workers in Soviet Culture and the Arts published yesterday calls upon the party to use all its influence and all its moral and material potential to endorse new approaches to resolving all these issues and problems which are of vital importance to society. It is our sacred duty to respond to this call, permeated with alarm and concern for the spiritual world of the people. I am convinced that all the delegates will favor culture and the arts, the ecology of the soul—if I may put it like that—becoming one of our priority program objectives.

Comrades, in developing the program of perestroyka, we were aware that it could not be effected unless the external conditions of the country's life changed radically, and for this to happen it was necessary to change our approaches and to offer the world a new international policy.

Enormous changes, social, national, economic, political, technological, scientific, ecological, and demographic changes have occurred since WWII. By the mid-1970's, they changed its whole outlook, and they change the very foundations of human existence. A new civilization is being born, it is born either to perish, not having coped with the enormity of the global threats, or to work out qualitatively new rules of living together and completely new world politics. Backed by an analysis of the contemporary international situation and having adopted the course of disarmament and gathered certain experience in the conducting of the new foreign policy, we have gained conviction in the correctness of three key postulates of international activity.

First, one cannot ensure one's own security at the expense of the security of others, or defend one's own interests to the detriment of others' interests, or claim to know better how other peoples and states should arrange their affairs. The recognition of the freedom of choice for every people is a fundamental prerequisite for the construction of a new world order.

Second, one cannot arrive at a prosperous, free, and democratic society on one's own, setting one's path against the other paths of social development. Co-development, joint constructive work, and cooperation are the imperative of the epoch.

And third, it is necessary to link our national economy into the world economy not only for the modernization of our own economy, but also in order to build together with other peoples the material foundation for an irreversibly peaceful period of history, for the resolution of mankind's global problems. Incidentally, I should mention that cooperation in the sphere of conversion of military production is one of the most promising areas of our integration. Contacts have already been started with the Americans, the Italians, the Germans, and several others, and this sphere may be a kind of "leader" in the sphere of integrational ties, for we already have at our disposal high technologies and advanced scientific developments which are of interest to our partners, on a reciprocal basis, of course.

Here is one of our most effective channels for involving, and moreover doing so rapidly, our most scientifically and technically up-to-date productions in the manufacture of output for civilian needs. From the point of view of international politics, it is extremely important that what is surely one of the active stimuli of the suspicion and mistrust that nurtured the arms race is becoming weaker. Without going into all the problems of this huge issue and in connection with the fact that a state conversion program is being drafted, I will say that this is a matter of immense state importance. It requires considered decisions. The scientific, cadre, and production potential must be sensibly handled. We must work well here to rid ourselves of the errors committed in the initial stage.

A policy built on such approaches, the initiatives put forward within the framework of the new thinking, have already considerably improved the international situation and made the threat of a world war more remote. The possibility of reducing military expenditure and of switching resources for peaceful purposes has—as I have already said—been opened up for us.

Thanks to perestroyka and the new thinking, a turnaround has occurred in relations between the USSR and the United States from confrontation and arms race rivalry to mutual understanding, and on a number of issues, even partnership. This has changed the entire world situation for the better and has initiated progress towards an unprecedentedly peaceful period in the life of mankind. Relations with China have been normalized, something that is of vast importance for both these great peoples and the world as a whole. In Europe, which has been the field of a most savage cold war and armed confrontation, the process of genuine disarmament, nuclear disarmament included, has begun for the first time. Throughout the entire history of our state we have not had such good and amicable relations with the majority of countries in the continent as we do now. The

all-European process has begun to create a form of interstate links unprecedented in world history, among dozens of countries and peoples.

For the first time here the creation of economic, cultural, ecological, and information arenas have been placed on the agenda. All of this has become possible due to our new international policy and cooperation.

Profound changes are taking place in Eastern Europe. When people say that this is the "collapse of socialism," we ask in turn: What sort of "socialism?" The kind that was essentially a version of the Stalinist authoritarian and bureaucratic system which we, ourselves have rejected? We are even reproached for "leaving here without a struggle." It transpires, then, that we are being advised to resort to that which we used to resort to, which we have resolutely broken with, and which we resolutely condemn.

Yes, the question is, in what direction will these countries go in their socioeconomic development? This is up to the peoples themselves to choose; we have acted and will be acting strictly guided by the principle of freedom of choice which has become an imperative of progress and a condition for the self-preservation of modern civilization.

How shall we build our relations with East European countries today and tomorrow? As the good neighbors which not only geography but also history have made us. Especially after the war it [history] contains much that is really good and valuable. That the USSR played a decisive role in the liberation of these countries from fascism and later helped them sincerely many times remained in the memory of the peoples and cannot but affect the further development of our relations. What is more—and this is the main thing—we have mutual economic and political interests. They bring us closer together in our relations and in our movement toward a peaceful Europe and a "common home."

They coincide with the desire to have the Warsaw Pact transformed, something that was agreed upon a month ago at the conference of the Political Consultative Committee in Moscow. The firmest relations are those which are built on voluntary participation, reciprocity, respect, and cooperation. The party and people highly appreciate the new foreign policy. It was approved and supported in the documents of the 19th party conference and the special resolution of the first USSR Congress of People's Deputies. Our new approaches and practical steps caused an enormous reaction and received support throughout the world. We resolutely reject attempts to discredit the foreign policy course elaborated and being conducted by the party and the Soviet state. I think that the 28th CPSU Congress, in assessing on merit the evident results achieved over those years on the international scene, will once again confirm to our people and to the whole world the firmness of the foreign policy course based on new thinking.

The effectiveness of that course is rooted first and foremost in the fact that it has reflected the pressing worries and hopes of humanity. At the same time everyone is aware that the effectiveness of our foreign policy is ensured by the might of our state, of which the Armed Forces are an integral part. The fact that the new ideas and constructive initiatives were proposed by one of the great powers was of huge significance. Moreover, it not only declared, but also confirmed in practice, its adherence to its new ideas. A most convincing proof of that is our defensive doctrine, on the basis of which we are moving to major military reform; I hope that we shall establish its principles in a program statement of the congress. No one should have any doubt that they Army will continue to enjoy the support of the party. Special concern should be shown toward those who have devoted themselves to the services of the homeland in the Armed Forces. The Army is composed of millions of people carrying out responsible, and in many cases also dangerous, state work.

Such, comardes, in the most compressed form, are the fundamental results of the work done. We have indeed been drawn into a magnificent, unprecedented business for the sake of the good and future of our people. Some things have been left unfinished: there have also been mistakes, delays. I have spoken of them. You will probably have things to add on this matter.

Yes, life has turned out far richer than we imagined when setting in motion the revolutionary transformations. Glasnost and democratization, appearing on the arena of the historic creativity of millions of people, have given the development of society its objective logic, which has engendered much that was unexpected, both positive and negative. Without the experience and knowledge gathered over those years, including about our own society, we would not have moved now toward the decisive phase of perestroyka.

III. The Party and Perestroyka

Comrade delegates, the main feature of our 28th congress consists precisely of the fact that we have come together at, as I have already said, the crucial stage of perestroyka, of radical change in our society within the framework of the socialist choice. Everyone is concerned by the questions as to where revolutionary transformations will lead, to what extent they correspond to the interests of the working people, and whether they will strengthen social justice, democracy, and freedom. Naturally, a great many viewpoints arise in such a situation. All this was taken into account when drawing up the draft program statement which you have in your hands. In it the party, proceeding from its responsibility to the people, proposes a program and policies for the immediate future. During the precongress discussions, the party's theoretical activity was the subject of intense interest. The view is even voiced that the party leadership has allegedly dragged the country into a "global experiment" without theoretical studies or concepts of reform. Moreover, this has begun to be repeated with

such frequency that a sort of anti-perestroyka stereotype has formed. Let's get to the bottom of this.

First of all, I have to repeat what I have said more than once, that the concept of perestroyka did not suddenly dawn on a certain group of people. Starting from the 20th CPSU Congress, the search was on in the party and society. Unfortunately, it was not supported and in the majority of cases was suppressed. During the years of stagnation when attempts were made to rehabilitate the Stalinist model of socialism, theory was allotted the role of providing apologies for official policies. It is with complete justification that we say that we have gained perestroyka literally through suffering; and the concept that lies at its basis absorbed all the best that had long been ripening in the depths of society, the party, science, and culture. The April plenum of 1985 gave a powerful boost to theoretical searching and opened up the possibility of freely discussing painful problems in the life of society.

It is of fundamental importance that the party and its Central Committee headed this creative work, exceptionally needed by the country, and created favorable political conditions for it. Even in its first stage we realized that society was in need of fundamental renewal. It was in this way that the basic idea of perestroyka came into being, profound democratization and humanization of society within the framework of the socialist choice, of making it free and creating conditions of life that were worthy of mankind.

In the course of the implementation of that plan, the ideas of radical economic reform and of radical transformations in the political system, in the federation, and in the formation of a law- governed state were being developed. The foundations of the new political thinking have been elaborated, at the core of which lies the priority of common human values. The theory of perestroyka would have been impossible without an understanding of all the enormous changes with which the world has approached the end of the 20th century. Step by step, we have been deepening our understanding of the goal and of the methods of the revolutionary transformations. As a matter of fact, that required, in Lenin's words, a reconsideration of the whole of our view of socialism. As a result, we have arrived at an understanding of perestroyka as a new revolution and as a logical continuation of the cause, the beginning of which was laid by the Great October [Revolution].

I am far from the intention to present the theory of perestroyka as something completed in every respect, as some finished system, as an ultimate truth. We have had enough of such pretentions and ambitions. Our experience has taught us to be ready for self- critical assessments, for introducing necessary corrections into theory and policy which must respond to real processes in the country and in the world. So, when they say to us: Give us a new completed theory of socialism; we reply: Only life, only free labor, self-administration, and the well-being of the people can fill the concept of socialism with new content.

If this does not happen, if this concept only keeps roaming through reports and front page articles, the authors of which are trying out model concepts, the socialist idea will be hopelessly devalued. Tell us, first, what you intend to do for your country and for your people, and then it will become clear what you indeed want and what you mean by socialism. We say that socialism is a real movement and it is the vital creativity of the masses, and I am convinced that the CPSU has correctly defined the goal of the movement as humane democratic socialism. Our views on the subject have been formulated in the draft program statement of the 28th CPSU Congress. How do they relate to Marxism? That is a fundamental issue for our party. Everyone knows that the content of the social theory created by Marx, Engels, and Lenin was shaped on the basis of an analysis of the realities of the 19th century, and Lenin's social sphere theory was based in addition on the first decades of the 20th century. Since then, the world has radically changed under the influence, among other things, of Marxist thought itself, of the October Revolution, and of the international revolutionary and democratic movement.

We, for our part, have tried for decades to find the answers to all the incidents which crop up in life, in quotations from the classics, forgetting that the classic writers themselves demanded we bear in mind that all theory is conditioned by history. They scoffed at those who tried to turn Marxism into some kind of holy scripture. Life itself has forced us to remember this and to make a proper assessment of the significance of the fundamental laws of Marxist dialectics, above all the demand for a concrete analysis of concrete situations, and to base conclusions for policy solely on this.

The concept of perestroyka is, I repeat, in motion and is self-developing, and must enrich itself with new ideas and conclusions as we make advances. The CPSU resolutely opposes dogmatism, quotation-mongering, and favors a consistent, creative approach toward the theory and practice of socialism, the interpretation of 20th century experience, and the heritage of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and other luminaries of revolutionary and progressive thought.

The work on improving our concept of perestroyka is continuing. Therefore, it would evidently be correct, having adopted a program statement, to recognize that the currently operating program of the CPSU has lost its force, to proceed toward a new party program, and for this purpose to form an appropriate commission at the congress.

Comrades, communists and all society are expecting from the congress answers to the most crucial questions on the party itself.

A natural yet difficult process is now under way whereby it is reinterpreting its own role in society and the principles, the structure, and the methods of activity that have taken shape over decades. The earlier depiction of the CPSU is in need of critical assessment and serious changes.

Recently the party has been subject to serious criticism—both just and unjust. We do not spare ourselves, and people do not spare us. This is what I would like to talk about here. For many decades the CPSU was adapted to serve the authoritarian-bureaucratic system and that has led to serious deformations in relations inside the party, in the selection of cadres, and effectively to millions of communists having been kept out of decisionmaking—something which has effectively created an atmosphere of indifference, apathy, and passivity in party organizations. That is why when criticism is being made of the deformations in the country, and for which the party leadership, of course, bears responsibility, this does not at all mean that every communist is to blame.

If anyone can deny the truly heroic...[changes thought] One can hardly deny the truly heroic role of communists in the Soviet people's martial achievement during the Great Patriotic War. And the whole labor history of our country provides examples of the communists' vanguard role. We are well aware of all this. But that does not in the least remove from us the need to constantly and critically interpret our activities so as to make correct political conclusion for the future. The pre-congress discussion gave rise to a great variety of views regarding the principles of the construction and activities of the party in modern conditions. But there is a point on which there is agreement. That is an understanding of the fact that the party has no political and moral right to drop the responsibility for the destiny of perestroyka, to evade its role, and to retire to the sidelines of the social process.

How do we see the renewed CPSU? As a party of socialist choice and of a communist future: a voluntary union of like-minded people whose policy expressed the interests of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia; a party which adheres to common human and humanist ideals, which is sensitive to national traditions and ambitions, and which is at the same time uncompromising with regard to chauvinism, nationalism, racism, and any "manifestations" for "developments"; of a reactionary ideology and obscurantism; a party which is free of ideological blinkers and dogmatism and which strives to play an initiating role in political and ideological processes using methods of persuasion, and of propaganda of its policy and developing relations of dialogue, discussion, cooperation, and partnership with all progressive, social, and political forces of the country; a party which constructs relations among its members solely upon the basis of party comradeship, of respect for others' opinions, and of the recognition of the rights of a minority to have their own position, upon the basis of full freedom of discussion and of the decisions adopted by the majority being compulsory for everyone; a party which asserts in its internal life principles of self-government, a freedom of action in party organizations, the independence of the Communist Parties of the Union republics united by the unity of their program goals and statutory provisions; a party open to contacts and interaction with communists, social democrats, socialists of various countries and of varying orientation and with representatives of many other tendencies of modern political and scientific thought.

The pre-congress discussion brought to light several key questions over which opinions clashed. Because they are crucial for an understanding of the reform of the CPSU, a clear-cut position on them must be identified.

A vanguard or a parliamentary party. By calling for the amendment of Articles 6 and 7 of the USSR Constitution, the party constituted its refusal to act in place of state bodies or to perform administrative and managerial functions.

Various documents, including the draft keynote statement of the 28th congress, talk of the need to return to the Leninist understanding of the party as the vanguard of society. But will it not transpire, is it not transpiring—and people are asking such questions—that we are once again laying claim to some kind of exceptional position, merely changing the term 'leading role' to 'vanguard'? There must be clarity on this: We believe that one cannot foist a vanguard role on society, it can only be won by an active struggle for the interests of the working people, by practical deeds, and by our whole political and moral image. The party will pursue its policy and fight to maintain its mandate as the ruling party within the framework of the democratic process and elections to the central and local legislative bodies. In this respect it is acting as a parliamentary party.

The most difficult task for the party now is to make its influence commensurate with the new political and organizational opportunities. We must proceed from the premise that the party does not meddle with the functions of the local soviet organs. This means it does not carry responsibility for the decisions which are made without being consulted and that it reserves the right to criticize them publicly. The primary party organizations do not consider it possible and, in practice, no longer have the right to implement control over administrative activity at enterprises, in organizations, or over the work of the apparatus of ministries and departments and of local soviet and economic institutions. But the party organizations cannot be detached observers of the processes taking place in labor collectives or in the regions. They must learn to influence the solution of various tasks through new political and organizational methods, through communists and primarily, through communist leaders.

The new role of the party organizations consists in working out positions collectively, at meetings, congresses, conferences, plenums, on the most important

issues of the life of society, to bring these to the attention of the appropriate state and economic bodies, to explain these positions in public discussions, to orientate communists toward defending them in their practical deeds. The scale of the CPSU's influence will be determined primarily by the strength of the ideas proclaimed by the party and by their attractiveness to the working people.

On relations with other political parties and public movements: I think that our party congress will come definitely in favor of extensive cooperation with all parties and movements of a progressive orientation and in favor of consolidation, in the interests of perestroyka and in the interests of the people. Within the framework of such cooperation, it is possible to discuss any problems that are worrying the public and to seek paths toward accord and joint action.

I am sure the harnessing together in organs of authority in the center and in the localities of democratic forces, of all who are sincerely interested in a profound reforming of society in conditions of political stability, and of civic and interethnic accord, could bring the country enormous benefit.

On the attitude to mass public organizations. Relations with the trade unions have always been of immense importance for our party. After all, this is, essentially, a matter of its social basis and of direct feedback with millions of workers, employees and, in recent years, as a result of the setting up of trade union organizations in the countryside, of peasants as well. Organizations of the working people are intended, first and foremost, to defend their economic interests and rights, to fight against those, as Lenin put it, exaggerations of the administration, and have always occupied an important place in the life of our society. But, as we know, they carried out predominantly auxiliary functions and were in a subordinate position. The traditional image of trade unions as levers, drive belts, and so on, was concordant with this.

It is clear that this approach definitely distorted the very purpose of professional trade unions and it is unacceptable in conditions of the restructuring and democratization of society. Strictly speaking, relations between the party and trade unions are already changing. Gone are the times when they submissively carried out the instructions of the party leadership or when they were, at many enterprises, a kind of adjunct to the administration. The restructuring of the trade unions began late. It is now gaining momentum, but the fact that it is lagging behind as well as the adherence to old methods and mechanisms of influence with the mass of members have, in a number of cases, resulted in a lack of faith among workers about the ability of trade union committees to defend their legitimate interests. And at times of social aggravation, parallel structures emerged—strike committees—which, again as a result of the impotence of the authorities and trade unions, began expanding their functions. We are, in actual fact, dealing with the rebirth of the working-class movement in the Soviet Union. This is an exceptionally serious issue and directly linked to the fate of the party. It must be thoroughly investigated.

Decades of the predominance of the administrative and command- based system have brought about the isolation of the working class from ownership and from power, and among workers suspicions have appeared that there is, as before, a desire to manipulate them, with only the tactics and manner of communication changed. Hence one of the tasks of renewal of the party itself: to complete the elimination of the old command-based mechanism of relations with the working class and, through deeds, to prove that the party is ready at all levels to defend its [the working class'] interests and just demands as well, and to support its direct representatives in the parliamentary struggle and political activity at the all-Union and local level.

The party's ability to ensure that the level of life, especially of those who are badly paid, will not become lower when the move to the market economy takes place will be a touchstone for checking the party's abilities to protect the interests of working peoples. Here we need constant direct contact with the masses and competence and political art in order not to damage progress and the dynamics of perestroyka while fighting for the interests of this stratum of working people, or this group of them.

The party's relations with trade unions, with other working organizations will be based on partnership and comradeship. Not in the least interferring in trade unions' internal affairs, party committees must use all their authority to support their [trade unions'] well-grounded demands and initiatives.

Among other mass public organizations, the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] has to be mentioned in particular. It is the organization closest to the party, related to it, if you want, in ideological and political respect. Our comrades in the Komsomol are experiencing difficult times, which was possible to observe at the congress of the Komsomol, which took place recently. The issues of whether the Komsomol should exist at all have been the subject of heated discussions there. And if it should exist, then what kind of Komsomol should it be? Will it be able to renew itself radically having preserved, at the same time, what is the best in its traditions. The Komsomol, as well as the party, had in essence to go through the same self-purification phase, through breaking from all negative things it had in its past. I do not know whether the Komsomol members will agree with me, but I got an impression that they have not yet managed to do it completely. However, the work on the transformation and perestroyka of the Komsomol has began. And the main issue which the Komsomol has already decided for itself is that, ideologically and politically, it remains organically linked with the CPSU. This is fundamentally important for the party.

In the present circumstances, of course, we have to give up a habit of seeing in the Komsomol the exclusive representative of all the youth. It looks like youth organizations will be created together with new parties. Ideological and political fight for the youth will take place. We certainly have to provide the utmost support of the Komsomol organizations, but their independence has to be entirely respected. To act in an old manner would simply mean to lose the young generation. The issues of relations between the CPSU, which is being renewed, and other public organizations lead us to a wider topic: modern social base of the party.

During discussion which took place before the congress it was possible to hear that the CPSU should define whose party it is and that, allegedly, it is untenable to claim to represent interests of all strata of the society because these interests hardly ever coincide and, in many cases, contradict each other.

This is a serious argument. Indeed, in the past, the differentiation, the divergence of social interests, was simply denied in our country. The slogan of moral-political unity within society as it were removed the necessity to see the real variety of social needs and aspirations. Today, we not only recognize this fact, but we are also creating a political system within the framework of which the harmonization of differing interests is possible. At the same time, it is obvious that alongside specific requirements based on profession, nationality, age, and other factors, Soviet people have common interests which merge millions of individuals into one people. We see it as the innermost intent of perestroyka to reveal, with the help of democratization, the colossal potential of the country as a whole, and on this basis to satisfy the people's interests at the level of developed modern states.

We are the party of restructuring, and hence the CPSU today acts as a political organization of the whole people. I would like to stress that it is not by any means a matter of reviving worthless, outmoded ambitions for monopoly, under new slogans. In reflecting the interests of the people as a whole, the CPSU, as the party of the socialist choice, will continue to be based on the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia.

The party's attitude to women needs radical restructuring. We have to recognize that the question of women is among the most acute for us. Contrary to all the slogans, of which more than enough have been pronounced, starting, if we are to talk about our period of perestroyka, with the 27th CPSU Congress, even today comrades, women's living and working conditions need considerable attention and radical improvement. This is one of the most important issues, a fundamental issue. And it is particularly intolerable, comrades, that there is an extremly insignificant presence of women in political life. I think that we should all be simply ashamed when we see that in many countries at the moment, women take an active part in high politics. But let's glance around this hall; how many women delegates are there here? We will wait for the report of the chairman of the Credentials Commission for complete clarity to be brought to this issue. And how many of them are there in the govermment? We have left this in such neglect, and the efforts of recent times have done very little to change things, very little. Perhaps we, at this congress, should take real steps, such that both in the Central Committee, in the Politburo, and in the Secretariat—everywhere—in all these bodies, women are really represented.

Taking into consideration the change in functions of the party itself, one can now also think about having a women's work department in the Central Committee apparatus. In any event, I think that women are in favor. They are applauding. Comrades, there can be no doubt that one of the new phenomena arising in connection with the democratization of society will be a strengthening of women's organizations. I think that we must fully welcome this process and provide it with support. It is matter of honor for men. That is the level on which the matter of men's honor is being placed: to do everything in their power to ease the position of women. But they can do a lot themselves if they are able to organize. And another thing—about an important social prop of the party—war and labor veterans. The CPSU maintains firm positions in that milieu, and we must cherish the support of the veterans and actively utilize them in party and political life in general. These are people who have proved their patriotism in the most difficult of times, taking, as a rule, firm civic standpoints.

On the Communist Parties of the Union Republics: I think the congress delegates will agree that this is an issue of the greatest current relevance. And it is not just an organizational question, since it touches on the very nature of our party as an internationalist organization. As such it was created by Lenin, and as such it has for many decades fulfilled its role as the binding force of our multinational state. It is of fundamental importance that it should retain precisely this character, otherwise both the country, the state, and the party itself will suffer great and possibly irretrievable losses. Probably no one has any doubts about the principled approach to solving the problems which have arisen.

Our premise is that the integrity of the CPSU is entirely compatible with the maximum independence of the Communist Parties of the Union republics and autonomous entities, and in no way limits their scope for taking account of their national, historical, local, and other special characteristics, and deciding at their own discretion the cadres, financial, and other questions with which they are concerned. But insofar as these questions are interwoven with the process of the reform of our Union, there are various tendencies here, down to the federalization of the party and separation from it.

You know the situation in the Baltic republics. In spite of all the measures taken by the Central Committee, we have not succeeded in averting the split into parties which still adhere to the CPSU platform and others

which have withdrawn from it. As a result, the communist movement in the republics has been dramatically weakened and other political forces have come to power there. If we now allow ourselves to be drawn into demarcations and schisms and separation, this will inflict a defeat on the communist [movement] and will weaken it and create an opportunity for other political forces to strengthen their positions. We must all learn the lesson of these events and try to find new approaches to the strengthening of the party's internationalist integrity. And I do not exclude the communist parties of those republics. The draft rules already provide for the creation of a number of mechanisms for reconciling the interests of the republican Communist Parties with those of the party as a whole. We must think, too, of appropriate procedures for fundamental political decision making. It is important that no communist party should be raised above any other or be able to impose its will on others.

Many delegates to our congress had the opportunity to participate in the conference which declared itself the constituent congress of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation and others to observe how its work went. It centered on the communists' anxiety at the country's destiny and the republic's difficult problems and their desire to use the opportunities of the republican party which was being recreated to help the revival of Russia and its numerous peoples and the strenghtening of our multinational state. I feel it is important to note the will of the Russian communists, enshrined in the documents of that congress, to promote the strengthening of the CPSU as a unified, all-Union party and to cooperate on an equal basis with the Communist Parties of the other republics. I think we can welcome that principled stance taken up by the Russian communists.

As for interaction of the component parts of the CPSU, I think we are capable of tackling all the tasks, if we remember the most important thing: Together, communists make up a powerful political force, but they will lose this if they break up into national units.

The territorial or the enterprise-based principle. To the question of whether or not there are to be party organizations at enterprises, the answer is unequivocal: there are. Historically, our party has operated on the basis of work collectives. This is where its roots and its sources lie. The principle of the enterprise-based construction of the CPSU reflects a stable tradition that has developed, and we see no grounds for retreating from it. Moreover, communists themselves possess the right to determine the form of their organization and this, of course, fully applies to the members of other parties as well.

While calling for the preservation of the enterprise-based principle of building the CPSU, there should at the same time be an improvement of the work of party organizations at local housing district level. The territorial principle, it must be admitted, has been poorly assimilated by the party—poorly, comrades. This was demonstrated, in particular, by the elections of people's deputies. It is to a territory that the center of political work moves during such major political campaigns.

There is another issue being raised at the moment, and pungently at that: The issue of depoliticizing the bodies of state administration, the courts, procuracy, other law-and-order bodies, in addition to the Army. Our stance on this is determined by the fact that the right to association is an inalienable political freedom. Nobody can prohibit party members from setting up their cells in enterprises, establishments, and so on. It is hard to imagine depoliticized state bodies acting to maintain morale and to educate soldiers, officers, and so on. But we do not lay claim to exclusiveness here either: This is the natural right of all parties which will be registered in our country on a legal basis. That is our approach.

On democratic centralism: In previous years, in previous years [Gorbachev repeats himself], this Leninist principle was, in practice, replaced by bureaucratic centralism. This has been eliminated forever. In restructuring the party we are creating the conditions for the all-around development of democracy within the party, self-management, checks by communists on the activity of leading bodies, with the voluntary and sensible observance of conscious discipline.

In the party, one can now say that there are strong feelings in the party in favor of excluding this principle from the rules because it has been discredited by all preceding practice.

But many advocate keeping it, seeing in the rejection of this principle a danger of turning the party into a debating club. I think that in the first case, there are more comrades who want to say farewell to the terminology connected with the previous practice, but I think that nobody among the real communists wants to turn our party into a shapeless organization where everything can be drowned in debates and it ends up incapable of resolving the immense tasks that face it as a political party. In general, the congress has to make the choice.

Let us discuss this issue and examine it in substance. There are proposals on this both in the policy statement and in the draft rules. It is perfectly clear to me, for example, that principles such as would guarantee both democratism and the effectiveness of the party which is necessary for all decisions adopted by the majority must be part of the rules. That is the formula.

Connected with this is another important issue—on factions. We have now taken a huge step in the development of democracy, internal party glasnost, and openness. All kinds of attempts to suppress different thinking have been censured. But there is a threshhold, the crossing of which would mean the destruction of the party. This is the creation of factions with their own particular internal discipline. I will elaborate. When speaking about the impermissibility of creating factions of this sort, we have in mind that party members who have formed their own points of view on some particular issue, that differ from the position of the majority, may

freely discuss and propagandize on behalf of their views, declaring them publicly right up to the party congresses. Let us show that we already have some understanding on this count.

On the power of the party masses: The essence of party reform consists in ensuring the real power of the party masses, the real influence of communists in the party's policies. To this end we need to change the position of the primary party organizations radically. The new draft rules of the CPSU take into account virtually everything that was suggested in pre-congress discussions on this score. It is being established that they are all independent in arranging their internal affairs. Their decisions, provided they do not contradict the programmatic aims and the norms of the CPSU rules, cannot be reversed by higher bodies, with the exception of decisions on cases concerning individuals [po personalnym delam]. Regulations for the activities of primary party organizations are being eliminated. They are being given control over acceptance into the CPSU. They are gaining the right of final assessment of the activity of any communist on the rolls.

Questions of financial provision are being resolved in a fundamentally new way. Primary party organizations can themselves resolve questions of their own structure, program, and forms of work. Drafts of party decisions on important questions need to be put out more frequently for discussion by communists; and party discussions need to be held regularly. The procedure for conducting party referendums both on the scale of the CPSU and that of its organizations should be worked out without delay so as to reveal the wishes of communists quickly. It is essential to strengthen the democratic bases of the electoral system in the party. We have had the first experience of direct election of delegates for the CPSU congress, for congresses of communist parties of Union republics and party conferences. Elections of party secretaries directly at meetings, conferences, and congresses were widespread in the pre-congress period. Alternatives at elections have become the norm. All of this experience requires attentive and calm study.

An important step has been taken in the democratic development of the party, but it would be wrong to close our eyes to the fact that the election struggle turned out to be far from favorable for the workers, peasants, women, and young communists. Evidently we need to give all of our attention to fully grasping the proposal on introducing direct representation of primary and other party organizations in higher party bodies. Let's discuss this question, comrades.

The structure of the party's central bodies is a special issue. The proposals on this set forth in the draft program statement and rules have not met with great objections, although these do exist. There is a view that the new aspects of party building connected with the autonomy of Union republic communist parties have been ill considered and the Central Committee Presidium appears not to be a sufficiently effective organ. This matter was discussed in some detail by the council of delegations' representatives on the eve of the congress, and I can tell you, on their behalf, that the comrades believe that the majority of communists are not in favor of creating a Presidium and introducing the posts of party chairman and his deputies, but are in favor of keeping the Politburo and the post of general secretary, elected by the congress, and of the election of a Central Committee deputy general secretary as number two in the party leadership. I think I am reporting accurately the opinion of the council of delegations. We need to discuss and decide these questions which are important for the party.

The party Central Committee in the period between congresses. The present congress and the CPSU Central Committee, comrades, have had to tackle the tasks of perestroyka in conditions where the course of events has forced us constantly to seek new approaches, to reassess what seemed to be interpreted and clear. When today you read the material of the 27th party congress, you see that life has far outstripped the very boldest ideas which you and I were capable of in those days. The party Central Committee in the period which has elapsed has worked fairly intensively. There have been 22 plenums, twice what is prescribed by the rules for a five-year period, and we did not complete a five-year term. Virtually every one of the plenums about which I have already spoken had to some extent a fundamental significance as a milestone—I would say.

Over the years, since the 27th congress, not only the atmosphere, but also the subject matter of the questions under discussion, the content of discussions at the plenums radically changed the nature of work and activity of the Central Committee. At all the last plenums, there has been open, direct, frequently impartial talking. I want to emphasize, because there exist varying assessments on this score, that with all the variety of views, clashes of standpoints, and even disagreements on all matters of principle, the decisions at the plenums were made for the most part unanimously, and we unswervingly, step by step, moved forward. And the fact that this happened shows precisely that this Central Committee, with all that it is criticized for, has done much to move the policy of perestroyka, the process of revolutionary transformations. Considering the most complex period of development of our society, the newness and scale of the problems which had to be tackled at that time, a certain tension of events, we can say with all responsibility that the present Central Committee elected by the 27th CPSU Congress basically and chiefly fulfilled the tasks entrusted to it.

Does this go to invalidate, comrades, what has been said in the course of the report—that this Central Committee has made mistakes and has not always responded to the demands of life and promptly found correct answers to what our dynamic times have thrown up? No comrades, this has to be counted among the shortcomings in the committee's activity, and directed at the ledership of the party Central Committee, and at many members of the

Central Committee, for their work in the localities has also become the object of sharp criticism from communists.

Of course, delegates can express their judgments of the work of the Central Committee as a whole and that of its individual members in the posts which they have occupied. Besides, as I have already said, you will have an opportunity to form your opinion of the work of the members of the Politburo after you have heard their speeches. I should just like to stress that the results of the political activity of the Central Committee and that of the members of the CPSU leadership must be assessed by the standards of perestroyka and their contribution to these revolutionary times and changes. I would like to stress that the Central Committee has proved capable of propounding a policy of revolutionary reforms, and carrying out an immense amount of work in implementing them, but nevertheless, I do not deny that considerably more could have been done, and the country and our society could thereby have been safeguarded from many negative phenomena which have led to social tension, and which we are now forced to reckon with and find a way out.

A large number of criticisms have been levelled at many of us. No doubt fresh ones will be added at this congress to what has already been said. After all, criticism is also a manifestation of polemics and of a clash of standpoints reflecting the state of the party and society. And only life can ultimately bring complete clarity to particular debates. We need to continue to preserve a healthy atmosphere at all levels of the party and maintain a spirit of debate, to see to it that debate is fruitful and—particularly importantly, this was something we have been short of over these years—that we have party-style comradeship and party ethics. We have to master political culture, for only under this condition can we count on problems being discussed constructively and on the necessary joint decisions being elaborated. And, in general, at our forums, especially at this level, the absence of arguments or data of analysis must not be covered over, and attempts must not be made to replace them with pointed expressions.

I'm finishing my report. We are faced with very difficult tasks, comrades, and the party believes they can only be performed and a way out of the crisis situation can only be found in looking ahead, and only along the route of the further democratization and intensification of perestroyka.

TV Carries 2 July CPSU Congress Proceedings

Ivashko on Proceedures

LD0207144990

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1235 GMT on 2 July is intercepted in progress carrying the live relay of the 2 July session of the 28th CPSU Congress from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow, following the end to Gorbachev's report. Ryzhkov is shown in the chair, flanked by Gorbachev and Lukyanov.

At 1236 GMT, Ivasho, as chairman of the Drafting Commission, comes to the rostrum. He sets out proposals for time limits on speeches and then lists which members of party leadership are to speak on which subjects. Eleven members of the Politburo and Secretariat with particular areas of responsibility are to deliver reports at plenary sittings, others at section sittings. Interventions are to be limited to 20 minutes, says Ivashko.

At 1244 GMT, Ivashko calls for comments from the floor. Numerous brief suggestions are made.

At 1247 GMT, Ivashko responds, clarifying his proposals for the procedure for submission of written and oral questions.

At 1248 GMT Ryzhkov sums up the proposed procedure and calls for a vote: The procedure is approved by 2,880 in favor, 1,419 against, with 111 abstentions.

At 1252 GMT, more comments from the floor are invited.

At 1258 GMT, there are comments from the floor regarding point 6 of the Congress standing orders, concerning the list of delegates selected to speak. Ivashko reads a proposal that those denied the opportunity to speak should be able to hand in their remarks for inclusion in the stenographic record. The proposal passes.

At 1256 GMT, a proposal is made concerning an amendment to point 7. The essence of the proposal is not made clear. It passes.

At 1258 GMT, Ryzhkov reads out a written query regarding the electronic voting procedure.

At 1259 GMT, there are more comments from the floor on point 7, asking why the Drafting Commission did not take account of the request for the opportunity to speak to be related to the level of the party organization concerned. Ivashko defends the commission's action.

At 1303 GMT, Ryzhkov intervenes, pointing out that these matters were passed by the Council of Delegations' Representatives, and that by taking issue, delegates are effectively impugning the judgments of that council which they, the delegates, elected.

At 1305 GMT, the delegates discuss point 8 of the congress standing orders; no changes are proposed. The delegates then move on to discuss point 9, concerning the circumstances in which votes should be taken. A proposal to change the number of delegates requesting such a vote is voted down.

At 1307 GMT, points 10 to 16, concerning procedures for electing leading bodies, are voted on and passed by 4,109 votes to 160.

At 1309 GMT, there is an intervention from the floor calling for an amendment to point 8.

At 1310 GMT, an unidentified Tashkent delegate in military uniform calls for a return to discussion of point 5. The request is overruled.

At 1311 GMT, Ryzhkov calls for a vote on the standing orders as a whole, including the amendments made so far: They are passed by 3,773 votes to 345 with 63 abstentions.

At 1313 GMT, Ryzhkov says a break is coming up, but first he announces that a wreath is to be laid at the Lenin Mausoleum. Those involved should gather at the mausoleum at 1930 Moscow time.

At 1316 GMT, Ryzhkov makes more announcements concerning events outside the congress later in the day. He then declares a 30-minute break.

Ryzhkov, Medvedev, Yakovlev Speak

LD0207152390

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1345 GMT on 2 July resumes its live relay of the 2 July session of the 28th CPSU Congress from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

At 1347 GMT, delegates are shown reassembled in the hall. Lukyanov announces that reports from members of the Politburo and Secretariat are now to start. First to report will be Ryzhkov, then Medvedev.

At 1349 GMT, Nikolay Ryzhkov comes to the podium and speaks until 1409 GMT. [Text of Ryzhkov's speech is published below]

At 1410 GMT Lukyanov announces that Vadim Medvedev will speak, followed by Aleksandr Yakovlev.

At 1411 GMT in Palace of Congresses in Moscow CPSU Secretary Vadim Medvedev begins speaking and speaks until 1428 GMT. [Text of Medvedev's speech is published below]

At 1429 GMT Lukyanov reads out a number of points sent up to the platform. One makes the point that delegates need to remember that Politburo members addressing the congress are doing so in their capacity as representatives of the party, not in their personal capacity.

At 1431 GMT Aleksandr Yakovlev begins speaking and speaks until 1447 GMT, and is followed by lengthy applause. [Text of Yakovlev's speech is published below]

At 1449 GMT Lukyanov says there is only 10 minutes left and there will be no time for Zaykov to speak today. Lukyanov recalls that a decision was made to form a group to liaise with the media over coverage of the congress. He reads out a list of proposed members of this group—13 names. He asks for a vote on the list by a show of cards, and declares the list accepted.

At 1452 GMT Lukyanov asks secretaries of primary organizations to meet at a specified location at 0900 tomorrow. He makes another announcement concerning farming delegates who are to meet tomorrow, then reminds delegates that the congress reconvenes at 1000 [0600 GMT] tomorrow.

At this point the live relay ends.

Text of Ryzhkov Speech

LD0207195190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1349 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Speech by Nikolay I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, at the 28th CPSU Congress at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow—live]

[Text] [Lukyanov] Comrade delegates! In accordance with the standing orders which we have approved, we are coming to the hearing of reports by members and candidate members of the Politburo and secretaries of the Central Committee. The floor is offered first to Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. Comrade Medvedev is next in line.

[Ryzhkov] Comrades! Our congress is taking place in an extraordinarily difficult period for society and all Soviet people. Expectations of the congress as an event of enormous political importance have been of most diverse shades. Some have seen the congress as a herald of new cardinal changes in the country's movement toward progress, while others have greeted it with a feeling of fear for the fate of perestroyka. However I think that the fundamental basis of the people's attitude to everything that is going on is the hope that healthy processes will start developing more quickly in the party, and enable it to become a powerful support for the growing transformations in the country.

I understand that I, as a communist and member of the country's top political leadership, am expected above all to give an account of how the party's social and economic policy has been implemented. I shall begin with the fact that the social and economic strategy for the upcoming five-year period was defined five years ago. It was based on the need to solve two tasks. The first was to intensify economic development, making the most effective use of the available scientific and production potential. The second was to simultaneously elaborate fundamentally new economic methods of management, meaning to find a new, progressive model for the development of the economy.

It is clear now that when we proclaimed a strategy for acceleration, while maintaining the structure of social production which had developed over many decades, we

did not take account of the fact that its possibilities had been exhausted. That structure became a brake. Life and the experience of the past years have confirmed that we should have placed the main emphasis right from the start on intensifying structural transformations and implementing a turnabout in the economy toward a social orientation on that basis. But we can see this now, when the development of democratization and the level of the people's (?political) activity has fully uncovered the total severity of many unresolved social problems, primarily such problems as food, housing, saturating the consumer market with goods, developing health care, education and culture, and others. It was important, on the basis of objective assessments, to correct the outlined policy in time, to renounce the strategy of acceleration, and to submit a program for intensifying the social reorientation of the economy, based on the priority of solving the crucial problems of the people's well-being.

All this was enshrined in the decision of the 19th Party Conference. Immediately after the conference we began to carry out a major economic move. Its essence is in a redistribution of material and financial resources to benefit the consumer sector, and the social and cultural sphere. It was necessary to carry out this turnabout comprehensively and to involve in it all the branches of the national economy and all the regions of the country.

It was not easy to make this decision, since it was in the middle of the five-year plan, and it was necessary to choose whether to break the five-year plan or to complete it in the form in which it had been compiled. We chose the first option.

I will not cite numerous figures which show that the social reorientation of the economy has begun. The absolute growth of the consumption fund in national income has tangibly gone up. A comparison of the past four years with the preceding years shows that its growth rate amounted to 55%. The absolute growth of industry's group B output has gone up by almost 1.4 times.

Serious changes are also taking place in the redistribution of capital investments in order to benefit the nonproduction sphere. As far as the total volume of construction and assembly work in the national economy is concerned, their share has come close to 50% as opposed to 37% provided for in the five-year plan.

It is another matter that the changes taking place do not suit anyone now, that they are considerably lagging behind the growing requirements of the population, and are making it impossible, for the time being, to tangibly improve the state of affairs. However, they represent what is, objectively, a serious foundation for a development of the economy in this direction. At the same time, it is not a coincidence that the errors and miscalculations which have been allowed to occur during these years give rise to sharp criticism of the government.

I shall dwell only on a few fundamental questions. These initially pertain to getting the consumer market to arrive at an equilibrium, to the provision of foodstuffs for the population, and to reducing the state budget deficit. Naturally, each of these problems requires an in-depth analysis which it is impossible to make in this brief speech.

The problem of balancing the population's incomes and expenditure has come to the fore most acutely over the past two years. In essence, this led to a crisis in the consumer market and to a sharp rise in social tension in the country. Quite a lot has been said about the causes of this situation. Moreover, the main emphasis is placed on the fact that the government has let this problem slip and has failed to pay due attention to it. I would like to say the following on this score: Indeed, during the transition to the new, economic methods of management, and with the apearance of the new forms of running the economy in economic life, the central economic bodies and consequently the government, too, failed to elaborate sufficiently the normative acts which would regulate with precision the necessary correlation between the growth of labor productivity, the volume of output, and the growth of incomes which depends upon them. This must be acknowledged.

So, what happened as a result of this? I have already said that over the past two years, the money incomes of the population have risen by R105 billion, or by 23%. They rose just as much over the previous seven years. What would seem a positive trend has turned to show its negative side. The population's purchasing power has risen sharply and trade turnover has grown significantly, but there has been a failure to reinforce this with a corresponding increase in the production of goods and services. We have virtually no other methods in which the population is allowed to invest its means.

At the same time, there is something else that one must not fail to see. The measures—and very serious ones at that—which have been taken by the government to normalize the situation that had developed by introducing the appropriate economic regulators of income, have not met with support either in the center or at the local level. Essentially, our every practical step has come up against negative public opinion and sharp criticism in the mass media. I can assure you that we have reached the relevant conclusions from this.

The food problem remains extremely acute for the country. It cannot be said that due attention has not been paid to it. In recent years it has been objectively examined on several occasions at the party's Central Committee plenums. However, the state of affairs here is noticeably not improving. Whereas in 1984-86 the average annual growth rate of agricultural production was 2.6%, in the last three years it has dropped to 1.5%.

Unsatisfied public demand for food products is increasing. According to estimates by specialists, the public demand is for another R50 billion worth of food, which is equivalent to a third of the food products produced in the country. The country is being increasingly drawn into import dependence in purchasing food.

Now, one-sixth of the food products sold through state and cooperative trade is imported.

An all-around analysis of the processes taking place in the agroindustrial sphere testifies to the fact that the main reasons for the situation that has developed are erroneous forms of economic management, an imbalance in exchange between town and village, and a significant lagging behind in the social development of the countryside. The state of affairs in the countryside is the basis of many problems in the country as a whole. And with all its diversity and topicality, the countryside must in practice become the pivot of our economic policy. We must put all our efforts into tackling this top priority task and, in practice, undertake radical steps. We cannot put off this problem any longer.

One more most acute problem: The weakness of our ruble is today the chief reason for the imbalance in the national economy and for developing the exchange of goods between enterprises, that is, a return to the most primitive barter forms of market relations.

The task is to get the ruble to start working. Until that happens, negative phenomena in the national economy will continue. The ways of strengthening the ruble are known to us, and the main one is reducing the deficit in the state budget. Specific actions in this direction were defined in the food program for improving the economy. [as heard] Of these, I would like to single out the fact that starting in 1991, the formation of the budget of the country and the union republics will be carried out on new principles. Their essence is that proceeding from the legislative acts adopted and the expansion of sovereignty of the republics, each of them will form its own budget, taking account of real incomes. Accordingly, the approach to reducing the budget deficit will also have to be new. We shall have to go for a substantial reduction in spending and create economic conditions to start income growth.

Now I would especially like to deal with a number of fundamental aspects of elaborating and implementing the radical economic reform. The first years, when its foundation was being elaborated, were difficult, but the subsequent years when the provisions of the reform were introduced were even more difficult. I want to stress yet again that on the main point, the implementation of radical economic transformations, we firmly held to the line approved by the June 1987 party Central Committee plenum. Today, of course, after three years, it is clearly evident that in the first steps of reform there was still a patina of old approaches. There was an exaggeration of the role of centralized planned control. During the reform we started consistently realizing the line of transferring the basic link of production to the principles of financial autonomy and self-financing. What is more, that stage was accomplished in a very short time, virtually in two years. Such concepts as competition, the market, leasing, farming, equality of forms of ownership, self-government, and sovereignty of republics are now firmly entering everyday economic life. This alone shows convincingly that the changes here are well-founded. But the first steps of the reform were accompanied by a number of negative consequences. The fundamental decisions which were made with regard to its development in a number of cases did not have the necessary legal basis. Executive bodies to a large extent were not ready for reform. The processes of reforming the structure of control and the introduction of new methods of management were inadequate. There were serious deformations exposed in the cooperative sector which caused the just indignation of the population. Alongside the positive changes in foreign economic activity, which caused a sharp enlivening of export and import activity, the country is in a complex hard currency situation. We consider that the governemnt decisions and legislative acts recently made will allow the existing shortcomings to be eliminated.

I have only very briefly outlined the range of major problems connected with the implementation of the radical economic reform which the government has had to deal with in the inter-congress period. I think that this gives an idea of the fairly complex path which we traveled before discussing in the Supreme Soviet and with all people the concept of transfering to a regulated market economy. The whole of society is now experiencing the problems of transfering to the market. They were the cause of enormous political heat over the past few weeks. I consider it necessary once again to say why we are going for the market, why we chose that path. The supreme aim of the party economic strategy was and remains the raising of the people's material well-being.

But how can we improve the lives of Soviet people, make them free and well off, ensure that there is material sufficiency and the benefits of modern civilization, to which not all have access? How can we achieve efficiency and growth in public sector production? I think that a firm conviction has formed today in the most varied of social strata that the system of management which has formed has not only exhausted all its possibilities, but has also become an obvious brake on the efficient use of material, of other resources, and of people's creative potential.

What, then, does a transition to the market provide for our people? First and foremost, the problem of balance should be resolved in a comparatively short time. The development of market relations will lead to an increase in production efficiency and to equilibrium between demand and supply. The situation in the consumer market should stabilize. In step with the creation of incentives for a growth in production and the development of competition, a saturation of the market with goods will begin and their range will become wider and more varied. A specific timescale of 1991-92 is mapped out for resolving this task.

I would like to stress once again that the transition to market relations is of an integrated nature. One cannot detach any one factor from this system. We realize the complexity of the upcoming transformation, and that

various options for implementation are possible, especially in the first years of the establishment of the market. The government has invited all those who have constructive proposals to a dialogue and joint work.

Proceeding from the acuteness of the problem, I would like to dwell particularly on the system of social protection for the population in market conditions. I will touch on just two aspects. The first concerns the protection of the population's incomes from price changes during the market transition. I must say that whatever option for price formation is selected, we will not be able to cover the road of forming a market without a price reform. We are firmly convinced of that. It would be the greatest mistake of all to manifest indecision once again here, as was the case in 1988, and again to postpone this incredibly difficult but objectively necessary task until later. The government has presented its understanding of approaches to the creation of mechanisms for social protection. We do not reject the possibility of also considering other proposals on this issue. But the main thing, of which I am profoundly convinced, is that the state is obliged to guarantee strong protection for those strata of the population which, for objective reasons, are unable to achieve an increase in their incomes through labor activity. This primarily concerns pensioners, students, invalids, and families with many children. The government will do everything it can in order to ensure that the situation of these social groups does not worsen.

Another aspect is connected with the functioning in market conditions of sectors in the sociocultural sphere. This means popular education, health care, and culture. Market relations here require scrapping many of our traditional ideas. It is essential that the economic environment which is being created does not recoil from these problems, but helps in every way to resolve them. We must not permit any damage to the cultural-educational potential of society.

As it effects the transition toward the market, the government will devote particular attention to bringing into play levers and incentives that will create conditions for strengthening the country's defense capability. The sharply changing political and economic situation in the country, the need to transfer to a market economy, and the creation on these principles of a single unionwide market require substantial changes in the structure and activities of the USSR Government. In brief, that means transferring from direct, rigid administrative management to a policy of management.

There are two tasks here. The first is to alter radically the nature of joint work by the Union and the republics. Fundamental socioeconomic questions must not now be tackled separately from the republics. The second is to recruit into the government new forces that express the interests of sociopolitical movements actively supporting and advancing the idea of a radical renewal of society. Figuratively speaking, it must be a government of social consent, relying on popular trust. Specific steps are already being taken in this direction.

The most responsible period of work by the government, the country, and the union republics has now begun. Bearing in mind the active discussion of the concept, a precise program of action will, on the basis of numerous proposals and constructive criticisms that are being received, be prepared and submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet during the next two months. This work is already in progress. It is important to find an agreed decision on the principal tenets of reform and, on the basis of them, to take specific steps to attain national accord.

Comrades, the market relation objectively contains the principle of integration. In connection with this, I must particularly stress one very alarming tendency which one cannot fail to mention. I have in mind an emergent economic separatism, which is for our country no less dangerous than political separatism. Today, one can increasingly frequently perceive the aspiration of individual republics to form exclusive republican markets. The outcome of such a tendency is evident. Walls will be erected in the way of free trade between enterprises located in separate autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts. Development would proceed in the teeth of the logic of historical processes: not toward integration but toward separation, isolation, toward barter within small territories. This path can only lead the country into an impasse.

Without casting doubt on the sovereignty of the union republics, I am firmly convinced that only a union-wide market will enable the potential of each republic to be revealed. That is the foundation of our unity.

And one other thing which is directly linked with the formation of the market: We have proclaimed the transition to a law-governed state and are already carrying out major work in that direction. All state structures and public organizations have joined in it. Undoubtedly, given the dearth of laws in our country, that is a positive phenomenon. But today, anxiety is being generated by the question of how the process is developing. Uncoordinated action in the legislative sphere can inflict serious harm on the state and society. On a wave of intensifying social activity and growing national self-awareness, a denial of legal foundations has begun to develop. Ignoring the country's Constitution and other union laws, and sometimes in violation of them, individual union republics are adopting legislative enactments that create an atmosphere of legal confusion. And that, after all, may undermine our statehood. So, today there is perhaps no more important task than that of gianing consent within the country through a new union treaty that would organically fuse the broad expanse of the republics' vital activity with the power of their unity.

Comrades, in the report of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, a detailed analysis was given of the work of the Central Committee and its Politburo. You will have to assess our activities during this extremely intense period. I do not think we have come to the 28th congress with

just heaps of mistakes and unfulfilled promises. A lot has been done in the past five years, and it can, with full justification, be counted among the CPSU's successes. At the same time, we see other things, too: a lowering of the party's political influence, adherence to stereotypes which have outlived themselves, a shortage of political experience and culture, of the original skill of freely and democratically discussing problems, and social backwardness. All this, of course, aggravates social tension, urges people toward a demonstrative type of democracy, and stirs up emotions. This congress should define the role of the CPSU, its program directives, its functions, and its methods of activity in present conditions. This will introduce purposefulness into the work of local party committees and organizations and will allow the party's weakening links with the working masses to be strengthened.

Comrades, five years have passed. Five extremely intensive years of perestroyka. Those were the years of difficult searches, the upsurge of social thinking, and great accomplishments and disappointments over unrealized hopes. These years can be assessed in different ways, and this will be so with regard to the Soviet people. I believe that our country has vast opportunities to be a great power and to ensure the prosperity and freedom of our people. Thank you.

Text of Medvedev Speech

LD0207213590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1411 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Speech by Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the 28th CPSU Congress in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, the reports from members of the Politburo are yet another innovation in our party life and deepening democratization. [applause] I am aware that to come to the rostrum with this mission is not merely a responsible matter, but, taking account of the extreme intensity of political passions, one which is known to be difficult.

I would like to stress from the very outset that my political position as a member of the Politburo is reflected in the report of the party Central Committee delivered by Comrade Gorbachev. I feel that the course taken by the party in April 1985 is the only correct one. What may be regretted is only that this change in direction was not made significantly earlier. There were not and there are not any reasonable alternatives to it. Any speculation on the difficulties which have arisen, and attempts to besmirch and to overthrow perestroyka from whichever position they may be mounted, are, to my mind, irresponsible. I am certain the congress will reject them.

I say this, certainly not to embellish the current situation, nor to hush up the miscalculations and mistakes. Not a few of these have been allowed over this period, including in the sector for which I am responsible. But it is impossible not to see the main thing: that the emancipation of society and the individual has taken place. His spirit of civic worth is being reborn.

It is true that the ideological situation in the country began to change rapidly for the worse when, from separate, isolated perestroyka measures there occurred a transition to transforming the whole front of society's economic and political structures. This struck at the interests of the stagnant establishment and worried all those who, working indifferently, enjoyed the benefits of society. This stimulated the growth of conservative views, the first upsurge of which took place in the period before the 19th Party Conference.

On the other hand, new public groups have begun to appear—pretty energetic, active, and even aggressive ones, by virtue of their social youth. Contributing to an enlivening of economic, political and ideological life, some of them have begun to be oppressed by any limits, including socialist ones, and thereby to provide extremely radical moods. Social and economic confusion, interethnic conflict, and a weakening of law and order in the country have had a harmful influence on the ideological situation. All of this has led to the initial (?April) euphoria being replaced by ideological and political tension. Perestroyka has begun to lose its initial favored position. The reorganization of party structures, undertaken in accordance with the decisions of the 19th Party Conference, coincided with the beginning of this acute period.

At the end of September 1988—that is, one year and nine months ago—a decision was adopted at a plenum of the Central Committee to create an Ideological Commission. I was entrusted with heading it. A redistribution of duties in the leadership took place at that time. I was elected to the Politburo and transferred to an ideological direction. Three departments of the Central Committee were united into one ideological one. The ideological sphere by that time had become a kind of risk zone for those who were engaged in that work. Here, I am talking not about myself but first and foremost about new-generation workers, people who are in the overwhelming majority honest, sincere, not treated favorably either by the period of stagnation or by perestroyka, people working not for the sake of new titles but for the sake of the renewal of society. To a great extent, they have borne the blows of the ideological elements, the moral and psychological restraints of the historic break-up that the people and the party have decided upon.

What did we see as our main tasks and what did we succeed in doing in two years? First, in accordance with the resolution of the 19th Party Conference on glasnost, the course for democratization and glasnost has continued. We began from two principal decisions: with the elimination of the limit on subscription and the removal

of the decision of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, which discredited the party, on the journals ZVEZDA and LENINGRAD.

As for limits on subscription, then a return to them is considered impermissible despite the present serious difficulties as regards paper. Political censorship was virtually removed in the country before the adoption of the law on the press. Thousands of books have left special storage and gone onto readers' shelves. Life has been enriched with new publications. In the first place, I would name the journal IZVESTIYA TsK KPSS, and now the GLASNOST weekly supplement to it, too. Publications such as SOYUZ, SYN PTECHESTVA [Son of the Fatherland] and SEMYA [Family] have been organized. The journal MY I SOGLASIYE [Agreement and Us] and the weekly MILOSERDIYE [Mercy] are coming out, and many others. The volume of television and radio broadcasting is increasing.

The Central Committee has come out in favor of a resolute expansion of the system of the mass news media for Russia. A supplement to the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspaper is being organized. A Russian [RSFSR] channel has been set up on central television. The journal RODINA [Homeland] has been given to the Russian Federation. The journal ZHENSHCHIN ROSSII [Women of Russia] has been started up, and so on.

In brief, never has the information market in the country been so multilayered and full. I know that many serious and totally justified criticisms of the mass information media have accumulated. Yes, they have become the arena of a very acute struggle. A process of differentiation in the press organs is taking place on the basis of differences among their readerships and of ideological, political, and national interests. To a certain extent this is natural. It would be unnatural while the polarization of society is intensifying to expect peace and tranquillity to reign in the press, which not only reflects public opinion but also forms it. This is impossible. But to me it is impermissible to look at everything that is taking place passively and apathetically.

What ways can the party influence public consciousness? I am convinced that, first and foremost, it is through the party press. It has become necessary to become involved in it in earnest, for it is not secret either that, in conditions of glasnost, its circulation has been falling. In the atmosphere of the past monopolism, it simply became unaccustomed to healthy competition and lost its militant spirit and attractiveness. The whole system of the central party press has been reviewed. Instead of the two journals AGITATOR and POLITSAMOOBRAZOVANIYE [POLITICHESKOYE OBRAZOVANIYE], with their traditionalism and, I would even say, primitivism, the journal DIALOG has begun to be published. It is contemporary, trenchant, and addressed to thinking people whose support is so necessary to perestroyka. RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA has been established on the basis of semi-departmental SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA and STROITELNAYA GAZETA; it is not an industrial paper but a social one which is orientated toward the most wide-ranging working readership. On the whole, the party press has become more open and vivid, and I think that we can all judge this by PRAVDA, first of all. You are entitled to ask: What are the results of the changes? I shall reply: This year, for the first time in the past years, subscriptions to the leading party publications have stabilized while, for a number of them, there has been a marked growth in the number of subscribers, and this in the current situation of a very acute struggle for readers. [applause]

As for party influence on the mass information media in general, the adoption of a press law, which we have actively assisted, is altering the whole situation. Political work by communist journalists is coming to the fore. In our relations with them we have gone over from diktat to dialogue and partnership. This is served, in particular, by the establishment of press centers at party committees. Such a press centre has also been established at the CPSU Central Committee. Upon a proposal from the Central Committee, the leadership of a number of the mass information media has been renewed—Gosteleradio [State Committee on Radio and Television Broadcasting], oskomizdat, many journals, newspapers and publications.

Upon the initiative of the Central Committee, the salaries of journalists have been raised and the economic independence of editorial boards has been expanded.

Television is special. Whereas a process of differentiation is completely natural for the other mass information media, in this case it is a far more complicated matter. You see, television belongs to the state, and this should determine its position. It should reflect public opinion objectively, without distortions, and serve the aims of social and national accord. The issue of the legal status of the USSR Gosteleradio is being studied, as well as fresh approaches to the organization of television and radio broadcasting, the fortification of its material and technical base, enhancing its accountability to society. A proposal is ripening on the establishment of a party television channel or on leasing one.

Secondly, we regarded the intensification of the ideological and theoretical work of the party as a major task. Renovation of ideology, resolutely freeing it from stereotypes of the past, the development of a contemporary concept of socialism based on Marx and Lenin's heritage freed from deformation and on the experience of world development, are important above all for the development of new spiritual values and landmarks. But this is also the best method of protecting our ideological heritage, the socialist choice and communist perspective. There was fairly detailed talk in the review report about the ideological concept of perestroyka. I want to add that we have tried to involve the best sociological forces in its

creation. With the support of the Central Committee there has been a renovation and rejuvenation in the leadership of scientific institutes, of editorial boards of scientific journals. The majority of artificial barriers to international scientific exchanges have been lifted. There has been a growth in the role of the intellectual initiative of the CPSU. It is worth noting the large-scale work carried out jointly with the Academy of Sciences: Main Problems of Development of Sociological Sciences in the Period of Perestroyka. Suffice it to say that taking part in the tough discussions were such diverse scientists as Kudryantsev and Likhachev, Marchuk and Sakharov, Chelukhov and Vleikhov, Shatalin and Yadov,—hundreds if not thousands of young scientists.

In the Academy of Sciences a theoretical seminar has been organized for developing the contemporary concept of socialism. All-Union scientific-practical conferences have been held. [applause] New textbooks on sociological sciences have been prepared and published. [applause] It evidently goes beyond the standing orders to discuss this.

At the initiative of the Central Committee, major steps have been taken for the development of sciences which in previous decades were not worked on at all. I am referring to such sciences as sociology, political science, psychology. In the past year and a half, we have managed at last to create a sociological service in the party. I would note in pressing that the sociological poll in which you participated is the first one to be held since the 11th Party Congress. [applause]

But of course, we have not yet reached a fundamentally new level of theoretical knowledge. Integral theory has not yet created a qualitatively new state of society. The reason for this is that there has not been created a theoretical center [applause] of our cadres, who have repeatedly pronounced the invocation to the creative nature of Marxism but turned out to be unprepared to carry out this formula just when the acute need for it arose.

I think the task of creating a new concept of socialism will be activated in connection with the development of the new program of the party.

Thirdly, the task of transition to a new model of ideological work has assumed great urgency. The previous model was based on the party being the nucleus of the adminstrative-command system and directly guiding all processes of the spiritual and ideological sphere: education, sciences, culture, the mass information media, the ideological institutions, everything right down to sports committees and kindergartens. All the work was conducted in hothouse conditions, without opponents, in an environment of controlled thought and approval. But we have left all that behind. The CPSU Central Committee has ceased to be a ministry of ideology. The efforts of the party are being concentrated on the development of ideological-theoretical approaches, of policy in the spiritual, ideological, and cultural spheres, on the conduct of work among the masses through the communists working in the party.

We have rejected militant intolerance of dissident thinking. [applause] Comrades! I must nevertheless set forth what I consider necessary for a report by the CPSU Central Committee. I ask your attention. Far from all are aware of these changes. We are frequently criticized for proceeding from former ideas of the CPSU as a force which has everything in its control and is responsible for everything, capable through its absolute power of making anything happen and banning anything. Well, we live in other times, there is no return to the past. Of course, we have not managed to escape from this altogether, and education is an example. The decision of the February plenum of the Central Committee on this issue have not reduced the acuteness of the problem, but have rather exposed the neglect. Of late, on our initiative, the system of teaching social sciences in higher educational establishments has changed. As yet it is doing it unwillingly and slowly, but it is turning from the track of retarded dogmatism toward interpretation of the new realities of life. We have devoted great attention to the development of a new cultural policy. Its main sense lies in guaranteeing full freedom of creativity and drawing public attention to the problems and misfortunes of culture, and putting an end to the notorious principle of funding from residence [as heard]. The corresponding draft of the ideological commission was published in one of the latest issues of SOVETSKAYA KULTURA.

Yes, the establishment of the new ideological work is proceeding amid contradictions and pain, and we do not manage to avoid mistakes. The overall formula is the same as in the economy and in politics—that of defending creative work and dismantling the old system. Contacts and exchange of opinions between ideological workers of the central, republican, and local bodies have expanded recently, but nevertheless they are evidently insufficient. There was a moment when many ideological workers felt lost. The fact that ideology has ceased to be the prerogative of a narrow party-state top echelon, and, as the pre-congress debate fully revealed, has become a cause of the whole party, is in itself a weighty result of perestroyka work, and at the same time it is the guarantee of further advances.

Comrades! Ideological work is at the moment the subject of very harsh criticism. There is criticism of everything, from the Arbat to the concept of socialism, and from all quarters. Some beat us for being too conciliatory, for losing our values, for turning bourgeois, others beat us for unwillingness to restructure ourselves, for dogmatism, for clutching at decrepit Marxist dogmas. But here, you will agree, there is already something more than criticism—it is a variation in standpoints. Sometimes, in essence, it is demanded of us that we place ideological work at the service not of perestroyka, but of one or

another grouping, one or another wing, barren conservatism or destructive ultraradicalism. In our work, I consider and have considered it essential to be guided not just by who boos and who cheers, but chiefly by the interests of the country and the interests of socialist renewal. And we strive to give it all our efforts and toil (?without sparing ourselves).

In conclusion, comrades, one more thought: The most important thing today is to regain people's wavering confidence in perestroyka. I think, and it is up to you to agree or disagree with me, that for this it must be supported more broadly on the profound patriotic feelings of our people. Let us take a look back in history: it is these feelings that have repeatedly lifted the country onto a qualitatively new spiral of destiny. I therefore consider that the future leadership of the party should try to conduct things in such a way that the concept of perestroyka is not perceived by people as alien, but is ennobled by the idea of the national rebirth of our people. Then, I am convinced, the success of perestroyka will be ensured.

Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Text of Yakovlev Speech

LD0207222890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1431 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Speech by Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at 28th CPSU Congress in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed comrade delegates: It seems I am in for a difficult time, too. It is impossible to squeeze five years of life and work into 20 minutes. And anyway, the purpose of the demand for a report seems to lie elsewhere, a demand which, frankly speaking, causes an ambiguous response, but nevertheless gives everyone a possibility to clarify his position once again. This is a complex matter, but it is made easier by the fact that I fully support the theses and conclusions of Comrade Gorbachev's report. This is, too, a joint report of the Central Committee members and the Politburo. So the main content is there.

To judge from the heat of the emotions, I am convinced that the time has come for truth, to speak of nobility, charity, honor, and conscience, even at the congress of communists, shaking from our feet the mud of enmity and suspicion that has built up over decades. It is time to end the civil war from which there is no way out. It is the very time for the party to take the initiative in the moral cleansing of our existence and consciousness. This is precisely why I am convinced of the historic correctness of the choice made in 1985 and of its profound morality. Without a comprehensive renewal, neither the country nor the party have a future or a worthy place in the world. This must be understood in order to adequately appreciate the ongoing events.

What was it that happened to us, to the party that once incited the people to revolution in the name of justice and brotherhood? A misfortune happened, for a party based on a revolutionary idea has turned into a party of power. In essence, they have always coexisted, a party serving the people and a party of unquestioning obedience, communist arrogance, and communist lordliness. It was precisely the party of ideas that started perestroyka in order to save the homeland from ruin. If one should speak about the main contradiction of today's acute processes, it consists in the severe clash between the inspiring idea of people's power and the demoralizing practice of oppressing the people. One can imagine how difficult it is to take in the idea—and the human brain is the most impregnable fortress—the idea that a monopoly on the truth is lethal.

In these conditions, I think that only a renewed, left-oriented, and rejuvenated party will be able to lead the country onward along the path of serious transformations. This movement cannot be halted. It will develop with or without the party. The conservative moods and trends which have expressively manifested themselves in recent times are the consequences and evidence of the fact, to a considerable degree, that the party remains enslaved by the system of social stagnation brought about by the regime of personal power. It is precisely this backbone of the authoritarian organism that perestroyka is striving to break, but due to precisely the same reason, it provokes seething hatred among certain strata.

To now judge perestroyka, which is, of course, not beyond reproach, or to look seriously into what caused it and what is impeding and counteracting it—that is the dilemma of the congress, as I see it.

That was a short statement on my position, with which I have never played hide-and-seek. Now let me be specific. First, as chairman of the commission for international policy, I consider myself a party to the elaboration, practice, and establishment of the new political thinking, although I do not intend to exaggerate my role here. We have lived through a whole epoch of a cold war of opposing systems. We will not investigate who started it first and who was more to blame. That has lost practical significance. The main thing lies elsewhere. That terrible epoch raised the question of the mortality of the human race. The foremost minds of our age—Einstein, Kapitsa, Russell, and Sakharov—pointed to that long ago. Politics realized it much later, but only with perestroyka did it begin to act in practice. All this had to be reinterpreted, both at the start of perestroyka, when the new thinking was only just being put forward as a hypothesis and especially recently when it has become clear that our path is correct and constructive.

The commission for international policy has not been working long; but virtually all the main conceptual problems have passed through it. A large number of documents have been examined and discussed on a working basis and decisions have been adopted on them. This applies to the preparation of Comrade Gorbachev's

visit to the FRG, matters connected with the centenary of "The Internationale," and various aspects of cooperation with developing countries. The commission discussed the prospects for developing international relations in light of the initiatives submitted at the United Nations. We not only had to consider and analyze specific issues, but to forecast to what state the intiatives would bring the international system. The same discussion, looking ahead, took place on the concept for the development of interstate and interparty relations with China in conditions of their normalization. There was discussion of ways of implementing the ideas and initiatives put forward in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk, the changes in central and East Europe from the point of view of Soviet interests, and the questions of developing contacts and cooperation with social democracy and other leftist forces. Various aspects of relations with the FRG, Italy, China, and the United States were discussed.

The commission of the Central Committee has sought to construct its work so as not to encroach directly upon the sphere of competence of state bodies, particularly the Supreme Soviet. Work with the USSR Foreign Ministry has proceeded in close contact, on a creative basis.

I think that my experience of the commission's work enables me to express several recommendations to its future members. I proceed from the premise that this form of work has justified itself and should, in my view, be developed. I see closer and more direct work with legislators as the main reserve. The commission should act as a stimulator and initiator of broad and responsible discussion in the party and the country of most important issues connected with our interaction with the outside world.

Both in a personal and in an official capacity, over these years, I have had to participate directly in the preparation and implementation of many of the more important foreign policy initiatives, summit meetings, and visits and to take part in them both in Moscow and abroad: Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington, Bonn, Rome, Paris, Beijing, and others. Of course this is a collective job. I speak about this simply because this work occupied a considerable space and swallowed up not a little time and effort.

But, comrades, what do I regard as the most important thing here? Through the normalization of external conditions, through our openness toward today's integral world, we are also changing the moral atmosphere at home. Calmness, the elimination of fear, reducing the spiritual need to seek out the enemy, a realistic look at the world and at our own capabilities—all this helps to establish in society a spiritually healthy atmosphere.

Second, a special sphere of my work in recent years has been the commission for the further study of materials relating to the repressions. I will tell you honestly: It is heavy, spiritually exhausting work, when the ashes of millions of people constantly haunt you. The good names of almost a million people have been returned in this period, returned without doubts and strained interpretations in the firm certainty that justice is being done and that the truth is triumphing.

But public, social, and historic truth is also necessary. Hundreds and hundreds of thousands of rehabilitated people—you will agree—is a number sufficient to draw the conclusion that with falsification on such a scale, repressions could not have been a matter of chance and could not have been the consequence of an evil will alone. Who and how was the mechanism of repression created and set in motion? How did it function? How were its organizers able to bear down on the party and state bodies of society? Why did nothing stand in its path? To what extent and how was our development crippled? Why were attempts made, even later, to rehabilitate the bloody face of Stalinism?

All these are not vain questions, but there is only one answer. The truth about Stalinism is the condemnation of the system created by it. The work of the commission was bound up together with the process of renewing socialism and of comprehending the nature of the society in which we live.

It was established that apart from the four widely known public trials, more than 60 more trials in Moscow alone were held in the thirties and carefully concealed from public opinion, including the so-called Kremlin case, the Moscow center, the Leningrad center, the trial of the workers' opposition, and so on. The tragedy which befell the people at that time is astonishing both by its scale and senseless cruelty.

The commission reached a conclusion on the illegality of the activity of the extrajudicial bodies. What one has in mind is the decree of the Supreme Soviet of 16 January, adopted on the initiative of the Central Committee on the basis of the commission's work, on the revocation of the extrajudicial decisions issued at that time.

The further study of the materials of the political repressions will make it possible to reach new decisions. In particular, the question of the peasantry during the period of collectivization arises.

In my view, that was the most monstrous crime, when hundreds of thousands of peasant families were driven out of the villages not understanding why such a fate befell them; they were driven out by the authorities they themselves had established. No one bore such massive and tragic casualties on the altar of Stalinism as the Russian peasantry. The dead cannot be brought back, but their good name may be restored in history. Here once again, there arises the question of morality. We will not progress [words indistinct] heavyweight. This tragic page of history does not allow [words indistinct] or silence and ambiguity.

Now another thing, very important to me: I know that keen interest and keen dislike were caused by involvement in the activity connected with the development of

glasnost and democracy. It would be excessive self-assurance to attribute this to myself, but [words indistinct] continue the hunt, then I will put it like this. Yes, I actively promoted it when I dealt with these matters two years ago, because the life-giving years of glasnost as a major part of democracy burst to the surface, and only then did we quench our spiritual and moral thirst.

There were dozens of literary works published that had been previously banned, while on the screen there films [words indistinct] lying on the shelves. In essence, there started a recuperation of creativity. We left the shame connected with the suppression of the freedom of the artist, criticizing ourselves only for the fact that we were insufficiently insistent on that level in the interests of perestroyka. Yes, it was a shock; yes it was painful; yes it was unaccustomed and unpleasant [words indistinct]. But was it not here that we had formed the bottomless pit between word and deed? All of this was far from simple. It is not simple now, either. The last five years confirm that the about-face to democratic transformations in the economy, politics, spiritual, and public life is decades late. One could catch still more ills of society, but it must be recognized [words indistinct] at a critical limit. You cannot argue with history. Unfortunately, over a period of 70 years we too often allowed ourselves to ignore everything we did not like.

Today, with hand on heart we not infrequently continue to deceive ourselves and to be hypocritical. The country's public life is still saturated with complications of former deceptions. Perestroyka has been able to overcome a colossal amount, but still significant are irrationalism in awareness and practice; mistrust of words, intentions and promises, of the authorities; cynical [word indistinct] psychology and parasitical careerism. Opposition to perestroyka, contradictions to perestroyka lie in the fact that objective requirements for radical modernization of society and its institutions are coming up against a high level of conservatism. [Words indistinct] have their effect in various ways. The dogmatized past holds everyone [word indistinct] differently. The accusation of the Central Committee and the leadership of the party that they (?are tardy) in elaborating and adopting measures is banal.

Much in that criticism is just. But without removing responsibility from the Central Committee, including myself personally, I would like to say some words which are probably not to the point: Of course, we are late, but this is by 50 years. This extended delay is rendering our perestroyka ill. [applause]

Let me deviate slightly. As is known, Christ once chased the Pharisees—that is merchants and moneylenders—out of the Temple, intending his religion for the poor. This took place over 2,000 years ago. And only a year and a half ago, several centuries after the reformation, the Vatican publicly recognized that only wealth that is earned helps to purify the soul and leads to heaven, that enterprise should be supported because it eases man's situation in this world and provides thim with the means for elevation. [applause]

Surely, comrades, we are not going to repeat these records for lagging behind with our academic arguments over the market? Time is passing quickly. We are all equal before it; and this is, of course, the final congress for me, and I regard myself—forgive the slight sentimentality—as a happy person, because I have been a contemporary of and active participant in a great renewal of a great country and its historic crusade to the world of freedom. Much today depends, comrades, on the degree of courage and degree of conscience, but also on the ability to undergo with dignity the ordeal of the new interpretation of our existence. And there are indeed things in it to be read anew. If one gets rid of the psychology of permanent civil war, from scathing accusations and from the intolerance of the people, from the ideology of obedience, the bended-knee state as a norm of life, for the education of which Stalin so persistently cultivated criticism and self-criticism. [sentence as heard]

Let us remember that not only the empty shelves, but also empty souls brought about perestroyka and demanded revolutionary changes. There are, of course, people who would like to settle accounts, to look for people to blame and acquire a touch of holiness at the expense of heretics. No doubt one can engage in this, but comrades, beyond the windows is a life awakened with its real problems, sorrows and joys, hopes, ambitions, and indifference. And all this is close by; only the double stone walls of the Palace of Congresses and the Kremlin are far away. People have grown tired of our words, arguments, and accusations. The clatter of words is not yet the rumble of history and not the approaches to time. And it will be most awkward if we betray these hopes and these opportunities and drown in a whirlpool of bitterness. It will be incredibly shameful if, having found a couple of unclean people, we begin consuming ourselves, wiping our hands, sweaty from excitement, forgetting that, in the very thrill of this occupation, we are risking the future of both the party and the country. We need more comradeship. One can defend dogma for a certain period of time, but no one has yet succeeded in stopping life.

And here is my last thought, which is, perhaps, vulnerable today, but because I have no political ambitions, this allows me to ask a question aloud.

Comrades, do you think that we are treating our leaders too carelessly? In 10 days you will elect a completely new leadership and this will be correct. But tomorrow the party will not be the only one in this rough political sea. Even more criticism will emerge. And then both unity, trust, and consolidation will be especially required. And one should learn this today. Let us think about this all together. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Information Report on Congress Opening Published

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["Information Report on the Course of the 28th CPSU Congress"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] The 28th CPSU Congress opened on 2 July 1990 at 1000 hours in the morning in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, opened the Congress.

After an exchange of opinions, delegates elected the leading organs of the congress—the Presidium, Secretariat, and Editorial and Credentials Commissions.

The congress discussed the agenda drawn up by a conference of representatives of delegations and, taking account of additions, approved it as follows:

Political report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 28th CPSU Congress and the party's tasks.

Reports of members and candidate members of the Politburo and CPSU Central Committee secretaries.

Report of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission.

On the budget and property of the CPSU.

Program statement of the 28th CPSU Congress "Toward Humane and Democratic Socialism."

CPSU Statutes.

Resolution on the CPSU Central Control Commission.

Elections of central party organs.

Resolutions, statements, and appeals of the 28th CPSU Congress.

The standing orders for the congress proceedings were then approved.

After the break N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, was in the chair.

The report on the first item on the agenda was delivered by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

During the evening sitting, which was chaired by A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, the congress moved on to hearing the reports of CPSU Central Committee Politburo members. The participants were addressed by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and CPSU Central Committee Secretaries V.A. Medvedev and A.N. Yakovlev.

After the sitting, congress participants laid wreaths at the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum.

TASS Summarizes 2 July Congress Proceedings

LD0207182390 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 2 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondents Lev Aksenkov, Boris Zyerev and Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] Moscow July 2 TASS—The agenda of the 28th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party includes personal reports by full-time and non-voting Politburo members, reflecting changes that are taking place in the party.

This item was added to the agenda of the Communist forum that opened in Moscow today at the initiative of many primary party organisations, which are unsatisfied with the activity of the party leadership.

Eleven top party officials are expected to take the floor.

Nikolay Ryzhkov, Politburo member and prime minister, was the first to report to the Congress after the Central Committee's account, delivered by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev.

Ryzhkov has been strongly criticised both from right and left. His blueprint for the country's transition to a market economy, submitted to parliament in May, was sent for more editing.

The Supreme Soviet rejected demands for a no-confidence vote. A similar appeal came from mineworkers, who called for a national political strike on July 11.

In his remarks today, Ryzhkov admitted that the first measures of the economic reform "retained traces of old approaches and exaggerated the role of centralised planning regulations" and that "many government decisions did not have a necessary legal basis."

He observed that all the measures proposed by the government drew a negative public response, which blocked their implementation.

Speaking about the transition plan, the premier observed that the government invited anyone with a constructive proposal to take part in its elaboration.

No matter what option is selected, Ryzhkov said, a market cannot be shaped without reforming prices." The biggest mistake would be to hestitate again, as in 1988, and put off this immeasurably complex, but objectively necessary task," he stated.

Ryzkhov rejected charges that the party came to the congress "with a heap of mistakes and unfulfilled pledges".

"Much has been achieved over the past five years, which can be fully attributed to the Soviet Communist Party," he said. "At the same time, the reduction of the party's political influence, the commitment to outdated stereotypes and the lack of political experience and culture and

customs in the free democratic discussion of problems...undoubtedly enhance social tension, encourage rally-type democratism and heighten emotions."

The congress should determine the party's role, its programme, functions and methods of work in present day conditions. This will lend purpose to the activity of local party organisations and strengthen the party's ties with working people, Ryzhkov said.

Vadim Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Party Central Committee in charge of ideology, said that the party took the "only correct path" in April 1985.

One can only regret that this turn was not made before, he added.

"There has been no sensible alternative to this course. Any speculations on outstanding difficulties and attempts to discredit or torpedo perestroyka—no matter from which positions they might be undertaken—are irresponsible from my viewpoint," he said.

He briefly characterised work of the Ideological Commission set up in September 1988. The course towards democratisation and glasnost proceeded in keeping with the resolution of the 19th Party Conference. "Political censorship was virtually lifted in the country even before the adoption of the law on the press." Medvedev said.

Admitting that mass media bodies have become an arena of keen struggle, Mededev said: "It would be unnatural to expect that at a time when polarisation is mounting in society, the work of the press, which not only reflects, but also shapes public opinion, would be as smooth as smooth can be."

He singled out the party press as one way in which the party can influence public opinion.

Medvedev described the intensification of the party's ideological and theoretical work as the second most important task, referring, specifically, to the renewal of ideology, the rejection of outdated stereotypes and the elaboration of a modern concept of socialism.

He admitted self-critically that "no integral theory for the qualitatively new state of society has been elaborated."

"The need to transfer to a new model of ideological work has emerged," Medvedev said. The party Central Committee has ceased to be the "ideology ministry", he said.

The party efforts now focus on elaborating ideological and theoretical approaches and policy in the intellectual, ideological and cultural spheres. "We have abandoned militant intolerance towards dissent," Medvedev emphasised.

Far from all have understood the changes, he said. "We are often criticised due to previous notions about the CPSU as a force in charge of everything and responsible for everything".

"We live at a different time and there is no return to the past," Medvedev said.

In conclusion, Medvedev stated: "What is particularly important today is to regain people's trust in perstroyka." The third speaker was Aleksandr Yakovlev, Politburo member and secretary of the party Central Committee who is sometimes described as party foreign minister.

Setting out his political stance, he said he fully agreed with the provisions and conclusions of Gorbachev's report and was convinced about "the historical correctness of the 1985 choice and its profound moral value".

"Without comprehensive renewal, neither the country nor the party have any future," he said.

"Trouble has befallen" the Soviet Communist Party, he said, since "the party of the revolutionary idea has turned into a party of power". In Yakovlev's opinion, the main contradiction today was the clash between "the inspiring idea of people's power with the denigrating practice of suppressing the people".

A monopoly on truth is fatal, he said, noting that "only a renewed, more left leaning and rejuvenated party will be capable of leading the country onward along the path of drastic transformation. This movement is inexorable. It will continue—with or without the party."

The past five years confirm that the turn towards democratic changes in the economy, politics, intellectual and public life "was decades late".

Perestroyka was able to overcome a great deal, he said, but there is still a lot of irrationality in consciousness and practice, mistrust in words, intentions, promises and authorities, cynicism and lumpen psychology, parasitism and careerism.

"The contradiction of perstroyka is that the objective need for a radical modernisation of society and its institutes encounters a high level of conservatism," Yakovlev remarked.

He said that "conservative sentiments and trends that have recently made themselves felt" show that "the party still remains a captive of the system of social stagnation generated by the regime of personal power".

Yakovlev described his activity as chairman of the Central Committee Commission for International Policy and head of the Central Committee Commission for the Additional Study of Materials Related to Repressions. Thanks to the commission's work, he said, nearly one million people have been rehabilitated.

Top party officials will continue their reports on Tuesday.

CPSU Congress Working Organ Members Listed

PM0307111190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jul 90 Second Edition p 1

["Congress Leading Organs"—PRAVDA headline; item lists 28th CPSU Congress delegates elected to congress working organs at 2 July opening session in Moscow]

[Text] **Presidium**

M.S. Gorbachev, O. Azimov, G.G. Akopyan, T.V. Batushkina, T.Zh. Beysembekova, M.M. Burokyavichyus, G.A. Bukharkov, R.G. Gamzatov, G.G. Gumbaridze, S.I. Gurenko, A.A. Gusev, F.N. Dobrina, G.R. Ibragimov, I.A. Karimov, E.S. Liyepniyetse, A.I. Lukyanov, P.K. Luchinskiy, G.A. Manuylova, V.I. Marchenkov, G.I. Marchuk, A.M. Masaliyev, K. Makhkamov, V.M. Movsisyan, A.N. Mutalibov, N.A. Nazarbayev, K.A. Nikolayev, S.A. Niyazov, V.A. Pavlovich, I.K. Polozkov, A.P. Rubiks, N.I. Ryzhkov, E.-A.A. Sillari, Ye.Ye. Sokolov, M. Sopyyev, Z.V. Stefanovich, A.N. Tavkhelidze, N. Khatamov.

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3 July Morning Session Proceedings Reported

Speakers Listed

LD0307103290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Excerpt] We have already reported, comrades, that the 28th Congress of the CPSU resumed its work this morning. In accordance with the decision made yesterday, the congress is continuing to hear reports by members and candidate members of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee heading Central Committee commissions and responsible for the major lines of political activity. Comrade Zaykov, Ligachev, Shevardnadze, Maslyukov, Vorotnikov, Kryuchkov, Razumovskiy, and Yazov have spoken. [passage omitted]

Morning Speakers Cited

LD0307085190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0745 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Report from the Kremlin by TASS Correspondents Lev Aksenov, Ivan Ivanov, and Yuriy Sizov]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 3 Jul (TASS)—Today at the 28th CPSU Congress, the report-backs of the party's leaders continued. Yesterday, following the review report of the CPSU Central Committee delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, personal report-backs were given by Members of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee Nikolay Ryzhkov, Vadim Medvedev, and Alexandr Yakovlev. Today the first to take to the rostrum was Lev Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. He reported that in the Politburo, he was charged with such issues as the work of defense industries and the implementation of the arms program and of the military-technical aspects of international policies.

Lev Zaykov recognized that "all the problems of the country's defense came together in the Politburo and were strictly monitored." In his words, this concerned both the development and production of military technology and development of the forces, and the elaboration of the foundations of Soviet foreign policy. It was the Politburo that served as the center in elaborating proposals at talks and which acted as coordinator for the activities of the Foreign Ministry, the Ministry of Defense, the General Staff, and other departments.

To these ends, Lev Zaykov continued, "a special commission was created in the Politburo, which engaged in military-technical aspects in international policy, including the preparations for talks on arms reductions." Zaykov was given the job of heading it, and Aleksandr Yakovlev, Eduard Shevardnadze, and heads of the Ministry of Defense, the KGB, and of other departments also worked in it. "Until recently, it was not appropriate to talk about the work of this commission," Lev Zaykov observed.

The main result of the commission's work was said by the Central Committee secretary to be "the end of the Afghan war and the overall warming of the international climate." Further arguments in support of the USSR's foreign policy activity, he went on, have been the rejection of unnecessary secrecy, the publication of the defense budget, and the unilateral measures to cut the armed forces. "Not just politicians, but the peoples of the world have come to trust the Soviet Union. People have stopped regarding us as an Evil Empire," he stressed.

On the subject of today's frequent assertions that the USSR is making too many concessions to the West—and above all to the United States—Lev Zaykov said: "It is indicative that it is these very arguments that are used against President Bush by the American conservatives." "You don't have negotiations without concessions on both sides," he declared. "But the concessions we have made have never jeopardized the national interests of the Soviet state. And if there have been concessions, then they are due to the historic assymetry between the branches of the Armed Forces of the USSR and the United States."

Lev Zaykov advocated the USSR president's Defense Council making use of the "well-oiled machinery for the interdepartment preparation of military-political matters." Given conditions in which the functions of the party and soviet organs are separated, he said, "the party must not walk away from responsibility for the very important questions of the country's security, but the center of gravity in making decisions ought to shift towards the president and the Supreme Soviet," he said in conclusion.

Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and a CPSU Central Committee secretary, in his report on his work, recalled that he had been in charge of the work of the Central Committee Secretariat until September 1988, when a Central Committee plenum had confirmed him as chairman of the CPSU Central Commmittee.

Describing his work in the Central Committee Secretariat, the speaker remarked that after 1988, when the Central Committee commissions were formed, it was a long time before the Secretariat resumed its work, and then it met only infrequently. Yegor Ligachev called this period in the work of the Central Committee Secretariat "a time of missed opportunities."

Assessing the situation in the agrarian sector of the country's economy, Yegor Ligachev said that there was a disintegration in the peasantry sector in many parts of the country. It was with self-criticism that he noted that the CPSU Central Committee's Agrarian Commission had failed to convince the government, the Supreme Soviet, and the country's leadership of the expediency and need for the priority development of the countryside.

Dwelling further on the concepts of a market economy, the speaker said he was "not persuaded by the introduction of a new category—private labor ownership." In Yegor ligachev's opinion, the type of ownership is "not tactics but strategy."

It is not right, he went on, that today "the class approach should be consigned to oblivion" in the formation of the soviets of people's deputies, and that the workers' and peasants' movements should be underrated.

While criticizing the anti-alcohol campaign that the country embarked upon in 1985, Yegor Ligachev, at the same time, stressed that drunkenness and alcoholism are a misfortune and tragedy for society—"a slow Chernobyl for the whole country." And the struggle against alcoholism is by no means a stage that has been completed.

Yegor Ligachev turned the attention of the congress participants to the fact that there are forces in the country that are struggling against the socialist system and against the CPSU. "And these forces are acting with quite some energy and vigor, and have great influence in some of the mass media."

"It was my open and uncompromising stance on genuine socialism and the place and role of the party that was the reason why I was placed at the center of the political struggle with the attributes of a conservative and all but an anti-perestroykist," said Yegor Ligachev.

"I regard myself neither as a conservative nor as a radical. I am, quite simply, a realist. And all the heedless radicalism and improvised changes of direction have yielded little in the five years of perestroyka," said the speaker. He advocated the reforms being implemented "consistently, gradually, but without deviation. Stage by stage, milestone by milestone."

The concluding part of Yegor Ligachev's speech was received with approval by the bulk of the hall. The congress participants applauded him off the rostrum.

The ovation prevented the chairman from announcing the next speaker for several minutes.

Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, began his address by stating his readiness not to stand as a candidate for the party's leading bodies. "I consider that there is no obligation for a minister to be in the Politburo as well as in the Presidential Council, the Defense Council, and various international bodies."

"If the aim of reporting is to define positions, he continued, then I have never concealed this: I was, am, and shall remain for perestroyka and Gorbachev's policy, as they say in our country and throughout the world, for the renewal of society, for a law-based state, and for complete democratization."

Eduard Shevardnadze noted that world development in the last quarter of the 20th century is no longer marked by struggle between two opposing systems and that it is not subject exclusively to the dynamics of class-conflict interests. Condemning dogmatism and "an ideological system which kills living thought," the Politburo member stated that he has actively advocated and implemented in practice the idea of the priority of common human values over class, group, or other interests.

Eduard Shevardnadze reported that having studied the relevant USSR Foreign Ministry materials, he has concluded: In the last two decades alone, ideological confrontation with the west has added R700 billion to the Soviet Union's expenditure on military confrontation. And that, he specified, was over and above what was required to create parity.

Having rejected criticism of the country's foreign policy and of himself personally in connection with "concessions in the security sphere," the speaker stated:

"I am more than convinced that our power needs strong Armed Forces, but it is wrong to reduce everything to this. One can arm oneself to the teeth and fear attack, but also one can be confident that one will not be attacked, for policy can ensure such conditions when the country will have no opponents and enemies."

Speaking of the principle of defense sufficiency, Eduard Shevardnadze stressed: "By expending a quarter of our budget on military spending we have ruined the country. We will simply have no need for defense, just as we will have no need for an Army for a ruined country and an impoverished people." The head of the USSR Foreign Ministry reported in particular that, apart from human casualties, the Afghan war cost the USSR R60 billion. According to his figures, the creation of a military infrastructure on the border with the People's Republic of China cost the Soviet Union R200 billion.

In his opinion, there is one way out here: Politics must take upon itself the task of creating a security reserve while reducing defense spending.

The speaker devoted a great deal of attention to the situation in Eastern Europe. He stated that "Soviet diplomacy has never and could never set itself the goal of opposing the elimination in other countries of alien administrative-command systems and totalitarian regimes imposed upon them." Eduard Shevardnadze stressed the impossibility of interfering in the internal affairs of these states, "even if events in Eastern Europe are at variance with our interests," for "today, it is not in words but in deeds that we recognize the equality of nations and the sovereignty of peoples, as well as noninterference in their affairs and their right to freedom of choice." "In my view, Soviet diplomacy and our entire policy have played a definite role in ensuring that at this dangerous turn in the destinies of peoples of allied countries, we have, nonetheless, kept together and are continuing to go side by side."

Regarding the question of German unification, the USSR foreign minister called the division of Germany which has been in existence for decades "artificial and unnatural." He expressed confidence that the Soviet Union would "cooperate widely, on a large scale, and to mutual advantage" with a united Germany in both politics and in economics as well as in other areas.

Yuriy Maslyukov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, sees the way out of the state of crisis in the Soviet economy in "all-around development of economic methods of running the national economy." Delivering a report to congress delegates today, he said that it was essential to "get past the 'dead zone', where the old management system still exists but the new one is not yet in effect, with minimum losses." At the same time, the speaker rejected the "shock" option for transferring to the market, noting that "one cannot force upon the people something for which they are not ready and it is essential that the people themselves recognize the inevitability and advisablity of each consequent step into the market economy."

Even in the next two or three months, Yuriy Maslyukov said, the government will be preparing a package of urgent measures for the transfer to the market, including specific methods for and dimensions of denationalization of property, the foundations of antimonopoly legislation, and the creation of bases in law for the formation of a market infrastructure. The speaker went on to say that a position had to be taken, in conjunction with the Union republics, on the approach to reforming price setting and to the problems of providing social safeguards for the public under market conditions, and that the main principles of a new credit and finance policy had to be formulated and radical changes made to external economic activity.

The chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee put "a purely mechanical interpretation of the problem of acceleration on all fronts of the economy, the excessively rapid dismantling of the current system of running public industry, the introduction of elected managing

cadres in industry alongside the absence of appropriate economic controls and of the general economic climate of market relations, and the prohibitory anti-alcohol campaign" among the reasons for the present crisis situation in the Soviet economy. In the view of Yuriy Maslyukov a negative role had also been played by the slogan "all not forbidden by the law is permitted," in conjunction with the virtually complete lack of normative acts and economic laws.

As a result, he noted, "state management structures have virtually lost control of many very important aspects of economic development, including of regulating the monetary income of the population." This resulted in "a certain fall in the place of development, an absolute cut in production of certain items and—most seriously—unprecedented strain in the consumer goods market."

Speaking about how he saw the role of the center following the conclusion of a new Union treaty, Yuriy Maslyukov noted that "regulation by the state must ensure the fulfillment of the most important interrepublican programs, the rational organization of economic ties, and the formation of a Union-wide market as the basis for a stable economy for the country, taking into account the interests of all the republics and the USSR as a whole."

The speaker said that the USSR State Planning Committee had embarked upon drawing up the plans for 1991, which had to be "prepared in such a way as to provide for the transition of the economy to market relations."

Like previous speakers, Vitaliy Vorotnikov, who until recently headed the Presidium of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, as a member of the Politburo, shared "responsibility for the decisions adopted by that body." He also stated that he was "primarily responsible for those decisions concerning Russia."

Among the main mistakes made by the leadership of the Russian Federation in managing the processes taking place in the republic, Vitaliy Vorotnikov named "the party's interference in all matters of state," and he called for a clear division of the functions of party, soviet, and economic bodies at all levels.

Vitaliy Vorotnikov also named as a key task at the present stage the strengthening of Russia's sovereignty, which, in his opinion, "is important not as an end in itself, but as a means of resolving vital problems of social development." At the same time, he stated: "Those who are trying to relieve the Russian Federation of responsibility for the destiny of the whole country, who are striving to work towards isolation for it, are urging the republic onto an irresponsible and ruinous road." Speaking about the working of the Politburo, Vitaliy Vorotnikov stated that "work in it is conducted on a collective basis in an atmosphere of discussion, in which everyone has every chance to propose and defend their own variants of deciding this or that problem."

Admitting that the Politburo "had made both mistakes and miscalculations," Vitaliy Vorotnikov also sees a reason for them in the fact that they "did not always manage to make an all-round analysis of the situation, and give a balanced appraisal of this or that event. Sometimes we acted impulsively, striving to react to acute political issues as quickly as possible. But when we became convinced of the wrongness of the decisions adopted, we did not, regrettably, correct them in good time."

"Many decisions but little specific work to implement them"—that is how Vitaliy Vorotnikov described "the most vulnerable spot" in the Politburo's work. At the same time, he stated that he "does not subscribe to assertions that the leadership is up to its neck in mistakes."

"I cannot agree with those who talk about a profound crisis in the party and about an inevitable split in it," the speaker continued, expressing his convictions that the party "remains as the reliable political leader of the people." At the same time, he admitted that "some party members are disoriented and confused," mixed up about the platforms.

Concerning the results of the first stage of the founding congress of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party which has ended, Vitaliy Vorotnikov stated in conclusion that "the formation of a Russian Communist Party should not lead to a devaluing of the role of other fraternal parties in the CPSU. The Russians must strive consistently for the consolidation of unity in the actions of the communists of the whole country. That is their duty and their historic obligation."

Vladimir Kryuchkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Committee for State Security of the USSR, who was the next to report, defined his position right away: "We have something to defend and there should be something to defend ourselves with. Society cannot tolerate inference in our internal affairs, or allow people to plunder and take abroad our national property with impunity, or to steal military and state secrets behind which lie the work and interests of millions of people," he stated.

Vladimir Kryuchkov stressed that "the military threat remains real even today." Under these circumstances, he said, Soviet intelligence is persistently carrying out work in the interests of strengthening the country's defense capability and economic power. It is openly stated in the West that intelligence work on the Soviet Union will be continued and, moreover, far more funds are allocated to it than in the USSR, the speaker added.

Analyzing the political situation in the country, Vladimir Kryuchkov said: "It would be incorrect to see the hand of the special services in all our difficulties and errors. At the same time, the positive changes in international relations have given rise among a certain section of the Soviet people to views reflecting the other extreme—a complete or partial loss of the sense of danger and an

underestimation of the threat to the political power of the Soviet people. The experience of five years of perestroyka has shown that socialism and democracy need to be defended. We regard the curtailment of the criminal activity of instigators and extremists as our important task."

Vladimir Kryuchkov spoke about restructuring within the KGB, in particular about the abolition of the department engaged in the fight against ideological sabotage. The norm of the law on criminal liability for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda has been abolished with the participation of KGB bodies. An area of work to be given fundamentally new content is the defense of the Soviet constitutional system.

A draft law on the KGB which contains firm guarantees of compliance with the law has been drawn up and prepared for examination at the Supreme Soviet. The KGB bodies work under conditions of broad glasnost: A center for public ties of the USSR KGB has been set up, as well as corresponding subunits in local areas. According to the head of the KGB, the concept of border defense is to be examined with the border zone, which today comprises one-sixth of the territory of the USSR, being reduced considerably.

The fight against organized crime is an important area of the activity of the state security bodies. "A shadow economy has formed in the country, stratification according to wealth is growing, and tens of thousands of millionaires have appeared," said Vladimir Kryuchkov. In his view, at the present rate of the heightening of social distortions, the country is threatened by the danger of "finding itself in the whirlpool of a new version of the October revolution."

Vladimir Kryuchkov said that the most important task for the party is to concentrate all its intellectual forces into setting forth for society a real program to improve the life of Soviet people. He believes that the congress should unify the country's communists and resolutely call for constructive dialogue with other democratic forces in the Soviet Union.

"In order to make the party's image truly modern, improved approaches and new efforts are needed," stated Georgiy Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in delivering his report. As head of the Central Committee Commission which handles questions of organizing party work, he told those taking part in the party forum of his activity connected with issues of party construction and CPSU cadres policy.

Dwelling on the situation in the party, Georgiy Razumovskiy noted the increase in the number of people leaving the CPSU. "There were 136,600 of them last year," he said. "This year there will obviously be considerably more." According to Georgiy Razumovskiy, the figure for the first quarter of this year was 82,000 people. He noted that among them were many people who were weighed down by being in the party. But there were also those who had a poor understanding of the situation.

The Central Committee secretary considers one of the main ways of improving the work of the party to be direct participation by communists in elaborating and implementing party policy. He spoke in favor of truly collective work and of educating communists in a spirit of respect for different opinions. Georgiy Razumovskiy is worried at the "slow entry of the new generation of party workers into political activity."

Noting that the rate at which the CPSU is being democratized is being criticized in society, Georgiy Razumovskiy said that the party "is showing conservatism, inertia, and adherence to hackneyed stereotypes and even prejudice as well as an enormous aspiration toward dynamism and renewal." In conclusion, he called for the acceleration of the process of renewing the CPSU. [passage omitted]

Zaykov, Ligachev Cited

LD0307074290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Report by correspondent Marina Novitskaya from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses]

[Text] Today the reports by Politburo members are continuing at the 28th party congress. I will remind you that yesterday Comrades Ryzhkov, Yakovlev, and Medvedev were able to speak. Today began with a speech by Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov.

The best part of his speech was devoted to defense industry issues and connected foreign policy aspects. He reminded us that in the middle of 1985 we appeared as a potential aggressor in the eyes of the whole world. It was necessary to change the situation urgently, and all aspects of international policy concerning arms cuts and the switch to the doctrine of defensive sufficiency were developed in these very years. This was worked on by the appropriate commission, which was headed by Lev Nikolayevich. The results of this work we all know: they are the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan, very important agreements on arms cuts, the rejection of unnecessary secrecy in this sphere, the publication of the military budget, and much else. As Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov said, the people of the world have begun to believe us and have stopped seeing us a potential aggressor. He reminded us that at times reproaches are heard to the effect that we are making unilateral concessions, but he refuted these claims quite thoroughly.

Unfortunately, Lev Nikolayevich said virtually nothing about his work as first secretaary of the Moscow city party committee, referring to his PRAVDA interview, which was published recently.

Just now, Comrade Ligachev is speaking. He reminded us that his activities over recent years can be divided into two stages: Yegor Kuzmich ran the work of the Central

Commitee Secretariat, and later was head of the Commission on Agrarian Policy.

Here are the basic points of his speech: He considers that the Central Committee Secrtariat worked very well in its first two years, but after September 1988 it met only irregularly, whereas its work is extremely important.

As far as agrarian policy is concerned, Yegor Kuzmich reminded us about the increase in purchase prices and the creation of the peasants' union. Nevertheless, he asked the question: Why is there a severe lack of produce in the country when the party's agrarian policies are absolutely correct? In Yegor Kuzmich's opinion, the problem is that the decisions of the March plenum were not reinforced with economic measures or supported by material and technical supplies, by the use of scientific and technical potential, or most importantly, by investment in agriculture. He stated that he did not succeed in convincing the government, the Supreme Soviet, or the country's leadership of the necessity of the countryside's priority. If it continues like this, then the situation, in Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev's opinion, may become critical.

Yegor Kuzmich devoted part of his speech to the defense of public property, of the means of production, and socialist values. This part of his speech was frequently interrupted by applause.

At the moment [0634 GMT], he is still speaking, and I think that there will be more detail in our following bulletins. So for the moment I conclude my report from the Kremlin.

Shevardnadze on Foreign Policy

LD0307103690

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0830 GMT on 3 July broadcasts a seven-minute report from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses by correspondent Marina Novitskaya, who sums up the day's proceedings so far. Zaykov and Ligachev have spoken already. Novitskaya then presents a recorded excerpt from Shevardnadze's report, who she quotes as saying: "I have never hidden my convictions from anyone." She sees his speech as one of this morning's most significant events.

Shevardnadze says: "I know that I and our foreign policy have been reproached, and recently—let us be quite frank—cursed, for neither more nor less than concessions in the sphere of security. I am more than convinced that our powers need strong armed forces, but it is wrong to reduce everything to this. One can arm oneself to the teeth and fear attack, but one also can be confident that one will not be attacked, for policy can insure such conditions in which the country will have no opponents or enemies. Soviet foreign policy....[interrupted by loud applause]

"Soviet foreign policy has done much to make sure that we have no enemies, that we have normal, mutually beneficial relations with all countries. Comrades, what happened? I remember that historic phrase. In Malta, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said to President Bush: We in the Soviet Union are willing not to regard the United States of America as our military opponent. I was struck by the phrase then. Now Bush has said in the United States: You can proceed from the premise that the United States will never threaten the Soviet Union's security. [applause] These still are just words, but the prospect has opened up of entering a new...[pauses] an era...[pauses] that is, of building completely new relations between the two great powers.

"Only in these circumstances did it become possible to speak of going over to the principle of defense sufficiency, not of just any defense, but a reliable, modern defense, constructed on the basis of the latest achievements in technology and science. This sufficient defense—and I want to stress this—this sufficient defense also will require money, and a lot of resources, and also a yet greater degree attention to those who guarantee it, to the conditions of their daily life and service.

"Obviously, however, if we are to continue in the previous way, comrades, I declare on my own responsibility that spending one quarter—one quarter—of our budget on military expenditure, we will have ruined the country, we will simply have no need for defense, as we will have no need for an army for a ruined country and a poverty-stricken people. There is no sense in defending a system that has led to economic and social dislocation. There is only one solution: Politics must take on the task of creating a reserve of security while cutting spending on arms. [applause]

"Comrades, we fought a war in Afghanistan, as preceding speakers have said, allegedly among other things in order to make our necessary borders safer. Such was the logic at the time. They have become much safer now that a political settlement has been achieved around Afghanistan. In the final resort, in this case politics gave a result faster and more cheaply, while the war—you know this figure already—cost us, in addition to human lives and other suffering, R60 billion.

"Incidentally, I could also report back to you today as the head of the Politburo Commission on Afghanistan, but it was disbanded some time ago since it had fulfilled its set task of returning our boys from Afghanistan and keeping that country our friend. This was all done under the Politburo's leadership.

"Many comrades will recall the difficult situation that set in in the Far East and in the country as a whole, when the confrontation with China grew into an armed conflict, and may ask themselves when we felt ourselves more secure: When we spent R200 billion—200 billion; no more, no less—on creating a military infrastructure of confrontation, or now, when we have normalized our relations with our great neighbors and have started negotiations on eliminating this confrontation, and when our military men are conducting negotiations with

Chinese military leaders. Today we are engaged in mutually beneficial trade, and are spending money on things that bring benefits to both the Soviet and Chinese peoples.

"I would also like to reply to a question a delegate asked me yesterday: Is not the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe a grave defeat for Soviet diplomacy, of which you are the head? If that would be the case—should I give an answer? [affirmative shouts from the auditorium] Yes, I should—that would be the case had our diplomacy aspired to prevent changes in neighboring countries, had they resulted in a deterioration of exacerbation of relations with them. Soviet diplomacy has never and could never set itself the goal of opposing the elimination in other countries of alien administrative-common systems and totalitarian regimes imposed on them. [applause] This would have contradicted the logic of our own actions and the principles of the new political thinking. Furthermore, even if what is happening in Eastern Europe were at variance with out interests, even then we would exclude any interference in these states' affairs. It is impossible, for today we acknowledge in deeds and not just in words, the equality of nations, the sovereignty of peoples, noninterference in their affairs, and their right to freedom of choice."

Maslyukov on Economic Management

LD0307111990 Moscow TASS in English 1101 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 3 TASS—Yuriy Maslyukov, chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee and member of the Soviet Communist Party Politburo, told the congress today that "comprehensive development of economic methods of management" could take the country out of crisis.

Maslyukov said "the 'dead zone', where the old management system is already not functioning and the new one has yet to begin operation should be overcome with the minimum losses." At the same time he criticised the "shock therapy" variant of a transition to the market and said that "one cannot impose on people what they are not prepared for. It is necessary for them to feel the inevitability and expediency of every subsequent step towards the market economy."

In the next two to three months, Maslyukov said, the government will draft urgent measures to facilitate the transition to the market, including specific methods and scale of denationalisation, fundamental anti-monopoly legislation, and the legal "framework for creating the market infrastructure. Together with constituent republics, a more definite attitude should be worked out with regard to price reform and problems of social security in market conditions, a framework laid for a new credit-financial policy, and cardinal changes in foreign economic activity. [no closing quotation mark as received]

Among the causes behind the current economic crisis, Maslyukov named "the purely mechanical attitude towards the acceleration of the economy, the overly hasty dismantling of existing systems of management of public production, the election of senior managerial staff while relevant economic regulators and the general economic culture of market relations were missing, and the prohibitive anti- alcohol campaign." The slogan "Everything that is not prohibited by law is allowed" also had a negative effect compounded by the lack of normative acts and economic laws.

As a result, Maslyukov noted, "state management structures have practically lost control over many important aspects of economic development, including the regulation of the population's monetary incomes."

As a result, "some rates of development have slowed down, the output of some products has been reduced absolutely and, the gravest consequence, there is unheard-of tension on the market of consumer goods."

Speaking about his vision of the centre's role after the conclusion of the treaty of union, Maslyukov said that "state regulations must ensure the fulfillment of the more important inter- republican programmes, the rational organisation of economic ties, and the formation of an all-Union market as the basis of economic stability in the country with the interests of all republics and the USSR as a whole taken into account."

The speaker said that the USSR State Planning Committee has begun to draft plans for 1991 which must "ensure the transition of the economy to market relations."

Vorotnikov on Politburo 'Mistakes'

LD0307122490 Moscow TASS in English 1212 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow July 3 TASS—Soviet Communist Party Politburo member Vitaliy Vorotnikov, who until recently headed the Presidium of the Russian Supreme Soviet, today said he shared the responsibility for decisions adopted by this body.

He noted that "Above all, I am responsible for decisions concerning Russia."

Speaking about mistakes made by the Russian leadership in governing processes in the republic, Vorotnikov focused on the party's "interference in all state affairs."

He called for the distinct division of functions among party, local government and economic bodies at all levels.

He said the strengthening of Russia's sovereignty was a "major" task at the current stage, adding that "it is not an end in itself, but a means to resolve vital issues of social development."

At the same time, Vorotnikov emphasised that "those who try to free the Russian Federation of responsibility

for the destiny of the whole country and seek its isolation, are pushing the republic onto an irresponsible and ruinous path."

Speaking about the Politburo's work, he said that it works "on collective principles and in a discussive atmosphere, in which each member has the possibility to propose and defend his own ways to solve problems."

Vorotnikov admitted that the Politburo had "made mistakes" and explained that "it was not always possible to thoroughly analyse the situation and give well-balanced assessments of events.

"Sometimes, we acted on impulse, seeking to respond quickly to acute political issues. Regrettably, when we saw that our decisions were unfounded, we failed to correct them in time."

Vorotnikov said that unfortunately the Politburo had made "many decisions and done little specific work on their implementation."

At the same time, he declared that he did not agree with statements that the leadership "has been bogged down in mistakes."

"I also cannot agree with those who speak about a deep crisis in the party and about its inevitable split," the Politburo member noted.

He expressed conviction that the party "remains a reliable political leader of the people." But he admitted that "some party members are disoriented and confused" by party platforms.

Commenting on results of the first stage of the founding congress of the Russian Communist Party, Vorotnikov said that the foundation of the Russian party "should not reduce the role of other fraternal parties within the CPSU."

"Russians should consistently seek unity in actions with communists throughout the country. This is their duty and historical responsibility."

Kryuchkov Cited

LD0307124590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Correspondent Boris Simonov report from All-Union Radio correspondents' office in the Kremlin]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Before the recess, Comrade Kryuchkov, member of the Politburo and chairman of the State Security Committee, spoke, as did candidate members Razyumovskiy and Yazov, the minister of defense. I would like, here, however, to cite what Comrade Kryuchkov said.

Describing the situation in the country, he commented: The main thing for me is loyalty to Lenin, October, and the socialist choice. He pointed out that he is doing a great deal of work, which he regards as very important, namely his part in the Commission on Rehabilitation of the Victims of Stalinist Repressions. Touching on the economic situation in the country, he mentioned matters relating to the regulation of economic problems, meaning the attempt to carry out a reform that, as he says, might lead to a demarcation in our society. He expressed the fear, that is, that the poles of luxury on the one hand and poverty on the other might get even further apart. If such a demarcation continues, as he said, this could lead, in his view, to a new October.

Such are the opinions comrades are expressing before the delegates of the 28th congress. This naturally is somehow influencing the opinions of the congress participants who are now discussing together in the corridors. [passage omitted]

Congress Applauds Ligachev

LD0307132990 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Excerpt] The 28th CPSU Congress is continuing its work in Moscow. Five Politburo members addressed the morning session on Tuesday. Even by the audience's reaction it was clear that those were very different speeches. For instance, the 20 minute address by Lev Zaykov, in charge of munitions production and military policy in [the] Politburo, evoked discontent among the delegates.

Similarly bleak was the statement by Vitaliy Vorotnikov who for a long time was president of the Russian Federation, this country's biggest republic.

The Politburo member Yuriy Maslyukov, the first deputy prime minister and chairman of the State Planning Committee, focused on ways of adopting controllable market relations for the Soviet economy. Last month this country's parliament turned down the government's program being drastically revised now. But since Maslyukov said nothing new in principle, his speech didn't evoke great interest among the delegates.

And yet there were two unusual speeches at the morning session. One by Yegor Ligachev who heads the agricultural section at the Central Committee and is perhaps one of the most influential figures in the party leadership, and the other by the Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. The audience burst into applause when Ligachev outlined his stand on defense of what he called genuine socialism. [passage omitted]

Credentials Commission Report Presented

LD0307145490 Moscow TASS in English 1445 GMT 3 Jul 90

[By TASS Correspondents Boris Zverev and Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] Moscow July 3 TASS—CPSU Central Committee Secretary Yuriy Manayenkov, chairman of the Credentials Commission, reported to the Soviet Communist

Party Congress today. Upon the commission's proposal, the congress approved the credentials of 4683 delegates.

The credentials of three delegates from the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region, part of the Azerbaijan Republic, have yet to be finally approved, as they were elected by 13,000 Armenian Communists who ignored the Azerbaijan Communist Party Congress. The Credentials Commission was instructed to study the matter to decide on these delegates authorisation and report the findings to the congress.

Manayenkov told the congress that party workers account for 40 per cent of its delegates, economic managers for 17 per cent, representatives of the Armed Forces, the Interior Ministry and the KGB more than 6 per cent. The scientific and artistic communities are representative by 392 delegates.

There are 543 workers (11.6 per cent) and 255 collective farmers (5.4 per cent) among the delegates. Because the composition of the delegates does not reflect the social structure of the Soviet Communist Party, participants in the Congress supported the Central Committee's proposal to invite 350 workers and farmers to attend the congress as non-voting members.

In the afternoon, the congress heard a report from the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and a report on the party's budget and property.

Slyunkov, Vorotnikov, Biryukova To Resign

LD0307151490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1455 GMT 3 Jul 90

["Urgent CPSU 28th Congress: Requests To Resign From Members of the CPSU Top Leadership Announced" report from the Kremlin by TASS correspondent Lev Aksenov]

[Text] Moscow, 3 July (TASS)—Several members of the CPSU leadership stated their intention to resign before the party congress. This is what Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, told the delegates to the 28th party congress today.

Answering a question from a delegate, he said that Nikolay Slyunkov, Politburo member; and Gumer Usmanov, secretary of the Central Committee; had put forward such requests on health grounds, and also Vitaliy Vorotnikov, Politburo member; and Aleksandra Biryukova, Politburo candidate member (both have attained pensionable age).

Gorbachev Urges Cooperation With Other Parties

AU0307134890 Paris AFP in English 1340 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow, June 3 (AFP)—Less than five months after Soviet communists renounced their monopoly on power, President Mikhail Gorbachev on Tuesday urged them to cooperate with new political formations now coming into being. Speaking to journalists, delegates and tourists outside the Kremlin's Palace of Congresses, where the Communist Party Congress is in progress, Mr. Gorbachev said "there will be other parties and one must collaborate, share our experience and our work" with them.

The Communist Party in February voted to renounce its constitutional guarantee to power, a decision later ratified by parliament which paves the way for political pluralism.

"I welcome all constructive proposals wherever they come from, not only from party members but also from non-party people. That is very important," he said. "We must not turn back. We must draw lessons from the past and not live as we have lived," he added.

"I think this is a congress of comprehension," he said, speaking of the 10-day meeting now underway at the Kremlin. The party must give itself new objectives (...) One must win back the confidence of the people".

"I am in favour of the party keeping its place (in society)," he also said, adding: "No, no the party is not crumbling".

Yazov Reportedly Ill at Congress

AU0307104790 Paris AFP in English 1040 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow, July 3 (AFP)—Soviet Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov was taken ill Tuesday during a speech on defence policy to the Communist Party Congress here.

As he began discussing cuts in Soviet Army strength, Marshal Yazov's voice began to fade, and he staggered slightly as [he] left the rostrum to return to his seat after his speech, an AFP correspondent at the session reported.

Two doctors rushed to his assistance after he was helped to his place by two congress delegates.

Marshal Yazov, 66, later gestured that he was feeling all right and he was able to leave the hall unassisted for the first break of Tuesday's session.

Marshal Yazov was among Politburo members accounting for their actions to the congress.

Medvedev Gives News Conference on Congress

PM0307095390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Jul 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report on 2 July Moscow news conference given by V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, under general heading "Congress Diary. Day One"]

[Text] Despite the live television relay from the Kremlin which Soviet and foreign journalists watched throughout the day at the 28th CPSU Congress press center, the

press center hall where a meeting with V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Party Central Committee, was held in the evening of 2 July was full.

The opening of the congress is an event for which the Soviet and foreign public has been waiting, he said. Great expectations are linked with it both in our country and abroad.

The Central Committee secretary described the report delivered on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee by M.S. Gorbachev as a document representing a passionate defense of the course toward perestroyka. V.A. Medvedev stressed that the report points the way out of the crisis by means of the revitalization of perestroyka processes and their further consistent development.

A good and serious start to the congress proceedings has been made, the Central Committee secretary went on to say, a firm foundation has been laid for the continuation of its work.

V.A. Medvedev answered numerous questions from journalists.

Results 'Positive' [TASS]

LD0207214690 Moscow TASS in English 2115 GM T 2 Jul 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev, Igor Peskov, Sergei Sosnovsky, and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow July 2 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev's report to the CPSU congress is a document representing a passionate vindication of the perestroyka, Politburo member Vadim Medvedev said referring to the Soviet Communist Party general secretary's speech at the 28th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party that opened in Moscow today.

Medvedev was speaking at the congress press centre straight after the completion of the forum's first day of work. He described the results of this work as "very positive and meaningful."

Speaking about the distinctive features of the forum, Medvedev noted that certain formal and ritual elements had been present at the previous 27th party congress. The presidium at the 27th congress, for instance, numbered about 200 people. This time, it is nearly five time less. According to Medvedev, it is accounted for by the fact that the forum's leading bodies were formed proceeding from actual practical needs and the logic of the forum's work.

Medvedev said including in the agenda reports from Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries and their replies to delegates' questions was another new and interesting component of the congress work. No formal elements intended for external effect have been retained, Medvedev stressed.

Asked why there were no foreign delegations at the forum, Medvedev noted that it was not a matter of concealing something from friends, as the work of the congress would be open to view and covered extensively.

At the same time, he added, the 28th congress is a working forum, at which domestic problems will dominate, according to his opinion.

Touching upon the atmosphere prevailing at the congress, Medvedev said that after the Gorbachev report there was no applause or standing ovation as in the past. But, Medvedev said, there was a working response, which he viewed as largely positive.

At the same time, he paid attention to a wide range of views and a variety of attitudes to perestroyka, its defence and justification, as well as to further ways of its development.

Criticism of Economic Program

LD0207195490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev spoke to journalists at the press center of the 28th CPSU Congress today. Answering one of the questions he said, in particular:

[Begin recording] [DUMA correspondent] Correspondent for the Bulgarian newspaper DUMA: In President Gorbachev's address there was a very serious criticism of the government's economic platform. What can be expected following this and can you say that changes will be made in the current composition of the Soviet Government?

[Medvedev] Discussion of the problems of the government economic program and of course, first of all, the program of transition to the regulated market was very serious indeed. I think, and it seems natural and justified to me, the party's point of view differs from the government's point of view. The party's point of view has a more generalized, political character. I think this generally fits with the whole process of the differentiation of political and economic functions in the country between the party and the state when the appraisals, political appraisals, cannot exactly coincide in every way with those measures being realized along the state and economic lines.

Actually, the government program was subjected to analysis and criticism at the Supreme Soviet. It is now in a state of its future development so that the party's view on these things and in particular the accent on the transition to the market should be more thoroughly and deeply prepared. Transition to the market should not necessarily be organically accompanied by price increases; all these fit into the process of discussing the program, which has already started at the Supreme Soviet and which, I think, will continue at the party congress, the 28th CPSU Congress. I would not tie this together with any personal changes, any reshuffles. The creative process of discussion of the most important

questions, the questions that constitute perhaps the most acute problem of perestroyka at this moment, is going on. [end recording]

Ligachev Interviewed at 3 July Congress

LD0307094490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Interview with Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev by "Vremya" correspondent (Polkovskiy) during a break in the CPSU Congress at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses on 3 July; from the "Vremya" newscast—live or recorded]

[Text] [Video shows Ligachev in foyer, surrounded by journalists] [Correspondent] This is the "Vremya" program. Yegor Kuzmich, your speech was accompanied by quite loud applause. This gives grounds to suppose that you have great support in this hall. Do you personally think this is so?

[Ligachev] I think I do have grounds to say that my views, my attitude towards things, my behavior, my struggle that I am waging, and the position that I occupy are getting people's support. Why? Apart from the applause, which of course one must balance with a share of corrections, I receive very many letters, especially in the last six months to one year. These are masses of letters in which people as a rule support...give substantial moral support to me. I thank all the comrades for this, and of course this gives me strength. I do not conceal this.

[Correspondent] Thus you will be campaigning for membership of the party's leadership as before?

[Ligachev] No, no, I simply do not intend to campaign to be part of it, I simply consider that this is the right of the congress, and let the congress decide.

[Correspondent] Let's assume all the same that you will be part...

[Ligachev, interrupting] I have simply become accustomed in life to the fact that you have to justify the trust placed in you, if it is placed in you. And so this is a matter first and foremost for the congress and the delegates to the congress.

[Correspondent] I am assuming, nevertheless, that you will be part of the party leadership. In that case, do you intend to continue working on the same area?

[Ligachev] I would be happy to continue, it is very, extremely, important and in my view exceptionally promising work. Sooner or later, everyone wil understand, including the top state and political leadership, that unless the food problem is resolved, it is not possible to move further forward. I would even say more, that at the moment, our work has not been in vain, in the sense that both agriculturalists, and deputies, and communists, the whole of the public of the country, have done a lot of work, to create, in general, the most favorable atmosphere. This is, I think, perhaps a sort of stage that one might not notice, but it is an extremely essential stage. Now, I think, it will be easier to work. I am confident of that.

[Correspondent] My last question, Yegor Kuzmich. I am returning to one of the parts of your speech. Can one, in fact, consider that journalists, almost all of them without exception, are people who wish the worst for our society—perhaps I am exaggerating somewhat the ideas you expressed. Do you really think this is the case?

[Ligachev] I will tell you quite frankly that you are exaggerating this extremely [laughing]. Because I have worked for a long time, both in the center and in Siberia, and journalists have always been at my side. This is not in order play up to you, this is simply for the sake of the truth. And something more I will tell you, in all responsibility, I will say that your work is extremely complicated, extraordinarily difficult. It is difficult as far as the time is concerned, and complicated in covering the events. I have great respect for this. But I consider that there are those comrades who should, quite simply, have a more responsible attitude toward the great trust that our people place in the press. I have nothing more to [word indistinct]. Even those who criticize me, I have a great respect for them. I do not think you will find a single example in my life, including the Moscow period, where, making use of the fact that I am a member of the Politburo, I have exerted pressure to any extent on those who act as my opponents. I particularly love it when a dispute of argument and facts is going on, when a real, businesslike exchange is going on. But when it comes to a matter of labels, in my view that is demeaning for both sides.

[Correspondent] I see. So, one should not take this statement of yours literally?

[Ligachev] Not by any means, Comrade (Polkovskiy), not by any means.

Ivashko, General Makashov Interviewed on Congress

PM0207212190 Moscow TRUD in Russian 3 Jul 90 p 1

[Report by special correspondents N. Kishkin, A. Repin, and Yu. Skvortsov under the rubric "28th CPSU Congress": "At the Watershed of Perestroyka"]

[Excerpts] The congress, which the party and the country were awaiting impatiently and which was brought forward by almost one year, has begun its work.

On our way to the Kremlin we recalled the previous congress, the 27th—the first perestroyka congress, and we recalled the spiritual fervor reigning in those days. Then, inspired by the ideas of a democracy which was essentially unknown to us, by no means everyone truly realized what difficulties lay in store for us. The past four years have shown them clearly, and this, of course, has affected people's moods. Anxiety and hope—thus, surely, is how the mood in society now may be assessed.

And it was that mood which delegates and guests brought to the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. [passage omitted]

N. Popylkov, chairman of the Penza Oblast Potrebsoyuz [Union of Consumer Trade Cooperatives] Board:

"I am the only representative of the consumer cooperative system at this congress. So you can judge how representative it is. I know from my meetings with the oblast's communists and inhabitants that people are waiting for order to be restored in the country. I am convinced: No matter what, the people still pin their hopes on our Communist Party, their stock of trust in it is still not exhausted. The different platforms and tendencies in the party—they must be consolidated, and Mikhail Sergeyevich must be more resolute and use his power where need be [gde-to]. Matters cannot be left to chance. This is a wonderful time now—there is democracy and glasnost—and I would not have spoken so openly five years ago. But democracy must not be transformed into an orgy of demagoguery."

...Thus there must be consolidation. But can that be achieved if people doggedly defend their own point of view and do not listen to others? We put this question to a delegate whose name has been in the newspapers constantly in recent days—Colonel General A. Makashov, commander of the Volga-Urals Military District:

"Consolidate who with whom?" he replied abruptly. "It is necessary to strengthen the unity of the party. I am against schism [raskol] but in favor of a 'splitting off' ['otkol']. If some people want to split off they should not be held back because such people are touting their petty ideas about under the party's flag."

"But do you not take back anything that you said at the Russian constituent congress?"

"I cannot take back what I said, but I can add to it."

As we can see, no change on the generals' front: The generals are not going to surrender their position without a fight. But isn't that true of everyone? Hasn't opposition of that kind become the norm of party life? The next few days of work at the congress will answer that question. [passage omitted]

At the evening session the congress began hearing reports from members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. We spoke with one of them, V. Ivashko, during the recess and asked him to talk about the prospects for the congress. He replied:

"There is a very simplistic approach, a black and white one I would call it, that holds that the party consists of radicals and conservatives. True, there are radicals and conservatives. However, between these two extremes there is...the party itself. People of various opinions, various views, those who have made up their minds, those who have not, those who change their points of view. It seems to me that all of this is projected onto the congress, that is, at the congress you will be able to hear diametrically opposed views and different approaches to the party's future. Let us proceed from that basis.

"What do I expect from this congress? The situation in society is such that there must be fundamental changes in the party itself. Without that, and despite the presence of a vast number of the most diverse social, sociopolitical, and other associations and even parties, it is simply impossible to build a new society. It is absolutely clear that the socialist idea is justified, it exists in the world whatever its name. This is a society for people. That is the whole question. If we rush into a discussion of terminology now, we will get bogged down and that will do no one any good. But so long as the congress does not turn into a confrontation between the deaf, people who do not listen to one another, it will give perestroyka a major boost..."

The congress continues its work today.

Yeltsin Adviser Interviewed on CPSU Congress

AU0207160290 Hamburg WELT AM SONNTAG in German 1 Jul 90 p 6

[Interview with Yuriy Alekseyevich Ryzhov, member of the circle around Boris Yeltsin and "one of the 10 most influential politicians of the Soviet Union," by Jochen Kummer in Moscow; date not given: "This 28th CPSU Congress Will Be the Last Congress"]

[Text] [Kummer] On Monday, 2 July, the 28th CPSU Congress will start. The party is losing its members—almost 1 million have left within one-and-a-half years. Is the party dissolving after 73 years of monopoly on power, like the Communist Parties in the East European states?

[Ryzhov] I think that the 28th CPSU Congress will be the last congress. Then the same processes will probably be tried in our party as in the parties in East Europe. Various divisions and renamings will take place.

[Kummer] You belong to the leading radical reformers around Boris Yeltsin. Will you found an independent party?

[Ryzhov] At the moment the group is not a political party, and a political group cannot come to power. Probably this group will never become a party. Now this group has already played its role, thus the resources are fully used. Its role primarily was establishing the first independent position with very specific ideas. The most interesting thing is that all these proposals—almost all of them—were accepted by government circles in the end even though with great, tragic delay. One of the biggest obstacles is the monotony of the press, the newspapers of today's party, of the Communist Party.

[Kummer] What is your goal?

[Ryzhov] I think that our parliament today only has a decorative character. This parliament must be dissolved

and a new one must be elected, and that under the conditions of a multiparty system.

[Kummer] What about the fate of Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU general secretary and president? Conservative politicians and high-ranking military men in the country have energetically voiced reservations about his policy. Boris Yeltsin has repeatedly predicted Gorbachev's fall. Is this your conviction, too?

[Ryzhov] I think that the problem is more complicated than the problem of Gorbachev as a person. We are in a period of complete transition—and this applies to all structures. Many structures were abolished more quickly than expected. The real obstacles on the path of reforms lie elsewhere.

[Kummer] Where?

[Ryzhov] The mentality of society. In introducing the market economy, the changes in the standard of living of various strata of our population will be fatal. In the course of 70 years our society has been educated in such a way that everyone is equal and equally poor. Even the best plans can fail on the basis of this mentality. In the economy the government is sitting between two stools. If the population cannot cope with the first step of the market economy, social unrest cannot be ruled out. The government is always making new attempts to put economic things together which do not fit. It is necessary to introduce the market economy. In order to start the process one has, however, to know how one will continue it. Today's government has no idea how it has to do this.

[Kummer] Is it, therefore, necessary to start reeducation in the Soviet Union after 73 years?

[Ryzhov] The market economy itself already means reeducation; thus, we do not need any additional reeducation. So far one can name two steps by Gorbachev that are to his credit. First, the changes in all relations with information, with the mass media—that is, glasnost. But this is not freedom of the press. And second, the enormous changes in foreign policy.

[Kummer] In particular this—the unification of Germany and the changes in Budapest, Warsaw, and Prague—is the butt of the generals' criticism. How do you assess the danger of military interference in the Soviet Union?

[Ryzhov] This is very difficult to say. Only in a country with a private economy could the military stay in power for a relatively long period. In a country with an economy like ours the military cannot feed the people well and therefore they cannot stay in power for long. The Army itself, the soldiers, have to eat something after all.

[Kummer] Is Gorbachev taking measures to prevent his perestroyka getting out of control?

[Ryzhov] Recently a group was established to work out a concept for the comprehensive safeguarding of the state: That is internal security—economic, ecological, political, cultural, as well as military security. I am the chairman. The committee consists of 16 members.

[Kummer] Is the situation already so unstable?

[Ryzhov] Even our old recipe has to be changed now. It will be a concept of priorities because the internal dangers are now much greater than the external ones.

[Kummer] Is Gorbachev thus establishing a body following the model of the National Security Council in the United States?

[Ryzhov] On a broad basis, a collective of independent advisers, probably.

[Kummer] What are the priorities now, in your view?

[Ryzhov] At the moment there are two very important points. These are the national territorial building of the country and the economy.

[Kummer] How much power would Gorbachev retain if he no longer were party chief but only president?

[Ryzhov] When Gorbachev wanted to become president he was asked what he wanted to be president of because it is not even exactly set down what kind of empire will exist in the future: whether the USSR exists with or without the Baltic republics, for instance. Thus, today we cannot even say of which country Gorbachev is the president. Because the question about the regional treaty between the various republics has not yet been solved. The economic and political development of various republics is very different. The treaty between Russia and central Asia and the treaty between the Baltic states and Moscow could be completely different treaties, on a different level.

[Kummer] The Baltic states have proclaimed their independence from Moscow. Will they be permitted to leave the USSR one day?

[Ryzhov] We hope independence will work. It is only a question of time. Gorbachev's first words of "null and void" concerning the proclamation were only a political statement, a temporary one.

[Kummer] Is there not the danger that other fringe areas will introduce similar steps to the Baltic states and that the empire will crumble?

[Kummer] We are now in a period of complete transition.

[Ryzhov] This means everything is possible?

[Kummer] Yes—and it is almost impossible to predict anything.

[Kummer] You have been a CPSU member for 30 years.

[Ryzhov] I joined the party under Khrushchev.

[Kummer] Is it not a painful experience to see that the party no longer corresponds to your ideas? Should you not leave?

[Ryzhov] I realized a long time ago that the party no longer corresponds to my ideas. And thank God, I had the fortunate possibility of being busy with my job during the Brezhnev era. I also dealt with armament. At the College—College for Aircraft Construction in Moscow, where Ryzhov is the rector—I worked on the aerodynamics of missiles. And one of these missiles was then used in 1960 to pick U.S. pilot Powers in his U-2 plane from the sky over Soviet territory.

[Kummer] This April it became known that the Soviets also shot down two of their own pilots in combat planes with your anti-aircraft missile.

[Ryzhov] I learned this only a short time ago—this is the result of glasnost. I deal with the aerodynamic part, not the shooting.

Polozkov, Ligachev, Gidaspov Support Gorbachev

LD0207095390 Hamburg DPA in German 0905 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—Leading conservative delegates at the 28th CPSU Congress have declared their support for the unity of the party and for Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. "The party congress represents all levels of our society. I believe in the intellectual capabilities of the delegates," the conservative head of the newly-founded Russian Communist Party, Ivan Polozkov, said to the GERMAN PRESS AGENCY, DPA, on the sidelines of the opening session. Polozkov did not wish to rule out the possibility of the CPSU splitting "but we will do everything to prevent it," he added.

The conservative Gorbachev opponent Yegor Ligachev said to DPA: "There is no difference in principle between Gorbachev and me, only in tactical side issues." Once again Ligachev spoke in favor of a "mixed plan-market economy." "In this question too, I am in agreement with Gorbachev," Ligachev said. "But let us put this question aside until after the party congress," he said laughing, and added: "The Congress (of People's Deputies of the USSR) will decide everything."

The conservative party chief of Leningrad, Boris Gidaspov, told DPA that "the Leningrad communists are for Gorbachev, and I am too."

General Discusses Policy on Germany

LD0307102790 Hamburg DPA in German 0930 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—The Soviet Army is demanding from the unification of the two German states an increase in security in Europe and the world. "The main view of the Soviet Army (on German unity) is that this will have to make the world more secure. The German people will understand this," General Anatoliy Martovitskiy, deputy commandant of the Soviet Army Central Asian troops, said on Tuesday in a conversation with the GERMAN PRESS AGENCY (DPA) on the sidelines of the 28th CPSU Congress.

Earlier, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze defended Soviet foreign and security policy to the delegates. Concerning the minister's remark that German unification did not represent a threat to the USSR, the general said: "We would like to believe that." According to Martovitskiy, "the foreign policy of Gorbachev and Shevardnadze answers the requirements of the time." He was hoping for an "improvement of the situation and of relations with Germany." The general added; "We are hoping for good results from the talks between (Federal Chancellor Helmut) Kohl and Gorbachev in the middle of this month." [passage omitted]

Military Delegates' Concerns Considered

PM0307125390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Jul 90 First Edition p 5

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondents Colonel V. Semenov, Lieutenant Colonel I. Sas report: "Delegates in Shoulder Boards; Notes From the Kremlin Palace of Congresses"]

[Text] Finding this delegation in the auditorium of the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, where the 28th CPSU Congress is being held, presents no real difficulty. Their military uniform makes them stand out. There are 269 of these delegates—emissaries of party organizations in the Armed Forces, which have more than a million communists in their ranks.

Life in service for many of these delegates has taken them to regions hit by the earthquake in Armenia, to Chernobyl, to far-flung garrisons beyond the Arctic Circle and in Central Asia, and through the depths of the world's oceans.... And today—with no exaggeration—they are under the special gaze of public opinion. Figuratively speaking, perestroyka has torn down the curtain of silence and allowed light and fresh air to enter. People in shoulder boards are particularly keenly aware of this. But while they—from soldiers to marshals—are looking for acceptable ways to improve the situation, there are quite a number of people eager to rub salt in the wounds.

This cannot fail to prompt a counterreaction, which is sometimes contradictory. In our view, it took the form of a very emotional outpouring at the Constituent Congress of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party in the speech by Colonel General A. Makashov, troop commander in the Volga-Ural Military District.

Now people are coming to blows over this speech and you sometimes hear mutually exclusive assessments. Well, you can agree with some ideas and disagree with others. We have also heard this said by military delegates. But there is another feature in the polemics aroused by the speech that makes you wary. Some people

are ready to demand the military delegate's resignation because he expressed an opinion differing from the generally accepted views. The logic is simple: First strip him of his shoulder boards and discuss it later. On an equal footing "with other unarmed citizens." At the same time, delegates in shoulder boards are asking: Just how long are people carrying weapons going to be seen as robots under orders and deprived of the right to think and defend their own opinions which do not fit into the general scheme of things?

You can hear some say that members of the military have now found themselves in the virtual role of hostage to certain political decisions. They remember the bitter revelations made by the chief of the political department of a garrison in the Moscow Military District which had prepared to receive a unit previously stationed abroad. "For the present, people will live in tents and office premises," the officer said. But how long this will continue, "I cannot say at present: There is a catastrophic shortage of housing for our own men." And will we be ordered to keep quiet about this too?

There are so many garrisons in this position nowadays....

That is why military delegates are insisting that, instead of general, not very binding phrases such as "the party considers it to be its duty to show concern...." program party documents should incorporate clear guarantees of social protection for servicemen and their families and of stronger unity between the Army and the people.

This concern, incidentally, is also shared by people apparently very far removed from Army problems. Letters and telegrams from readers lie on our editorial desk: From A. Panfilov, a frontline fighter and professor of the Moscow V.I. Lenin State Pedagogical Institute; P. Reznichenko, an honors student of public education from Rostov-na-Donu; Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Petrenko from Moscow; and many others. Yes, their opinions vary between the strongly critical and the rapturous. But, for all the polarity of nuances, readers highlight the most important point: Speeches by military delegates are not "an encroachment on perestroyka" but, as they put it, a cry from the heart.

I would like to take the opportunity to stress once again that military delegates are people with all kinds of different views on the Soviet Union's problems, the present situation in the party, and the national economy. We are aware of the very broad range of opinions and observations expressed when the final touches were being put to the draft resolution "On the Main Aspects of the Party's Military Policy at the Present Stage," which is going to be proposed as an initiative to the 28th CPSU Congress. These views deserve attention because the interests of hundreds of thousands of Army and Navy communists lie behind them.

Before securing their mandate as delegate, each one had to undergo close scrutiny from public opinion and survive the force field of the election struggle. To a certain extent, the body of delegates from the Armed Forces is also characterized by another detail. Many of its representatives are people's deputies of the USSR, union and autonomous republics, and local soviets. They agree that in the past this could have been greeted with a condescending smile. We know about elections that do not offer any choice, people would say. But that kind of thing could not be said now.

"Despite the lack of time, I try to liaise with the unit every day," Lieutenant Colonel Yu. Kosyakov, party committee secretary of an Air Force regiment, said in a break between sittings. "The main mandate I have been given by my fellow servicemen is to work for party unity and for the renewal and democratization of internal party life."

Other military delegates have roughly the same concerns these days. They try to do everything possible to put the party organizations' mandates into practice.

Control Commission Draft Statute Published

PM030712390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jun 90 Second Edition p 3

[Text of draft "Statute on CPSU Central Control Commission"]

[Text] 1. The CPSU Central Control Commission (CPSU CCC) is elected by the party congress with a view to the exercise of control over the activity of the central party organs and their apparatus by the Communists and party organizations. The commission is guided by the CPSU Statutes and this statute, is autonomous in its activity, and is subordinate to the CPSU congress and conference.

2. The CPSU Central Control Commission:

—exercises control over the fulfillment of the program documents and CPSU Statutes and party congress and conference decisions and over the observance of collegiality, glasnost, and other democratic principles in the activity of the CPSU Central Committee and its executive organs, appeals against their decisions if they fail to comply with program and statute provisions and existing legislation; takes steps against bureaucracy, subjectivism, arbitrariness, and the influence of personal and fortuitous circumstances on party policy, the suppression of criticism, and abuses;

—promotes the consolidation of the unity of party ranks and party comradeship and the raising of the authority and independence of primary party organizations, defends communists' rights, and sees to it that in the party organizations and elected party organs the minority's right to defend its position is not infringed and that the decisions adopted by the majority are fulfilled by all communists;

—controls the execution of the CPSU budget and audits the financial and economic activity of the CPSU Central Committee and its institutions, press organs, publishing houses, and enterprises;

—verifies in the CPSU Central Committee and its executive organs, institutions, and enterprises the observance of the established procedure for examining appeals from party organizations, letters, and statements;

—examines the appeals from party organizations and communists addressed to it, submits proposals for the elimination of the shortcomings revealed, demands explanations, and brings to book any communist who by his actions undermines the party's prestige. The CPSU CCC decision on an expulsion from the party is brought to the notice of the relevant primary party organization and if this organization has objections it is reexamined with the participation of representatives of that party organization, after which it is considered adopted;

—examines appeals against decisions of the Union republic communist party central committees and kray, oblast, okrug, city, and rayon party organizations and analyzes the practice of party control.

3. The CPSU CCC is elected with the composition determined by the party congress consisting of communists recommended by the Union republic communist parties and the party organizations of the USSR Armed Forces and also directly nominated at the congress. Communists elected to the CPSU CCC cannot belong to other central elected organs of the party or be workers in their apparatus.

The CPSU CCC chairman is elected at the party congress and belongs to the CPSU CCC Bureau ex officio.

A variant: The CPSU CCC Chairman is elected at the commission's plenum.

Plenary sessions of the CPSU CCC are held when necessary but at least twice a year and also at the demand of one-third of CCC members.

4. At its plenum the CPSU CCC elects a permanent organ—the CPSU CCC Bureau including deputy chairmen of the CPSU CCC—and creates permanent control groups from the ranks of CCC members and other communists approved as advisers and determines the powers of the CCC Bureau and the control groups.

The CCC Bureau annually submits a report on its activity to the CPSU CCC.

5. Members of the CCC have the right to take part with a voice but no vote in the work of CPSU Central Committee plenums and commissions.

The CPSU CCC Chairman and his deputies take part in sessions of the presidium and other executive organs of the CPSU Central Committee with the right to a voice but no vote.

6. The CPSU CCC works openly, regularly informing the party organizations of its activity, and the resolutions it adopts are published in the party press. CCC members regularly report in the party organizations.

7. Using party budget funds, the CPSU CCC maintains the apparatus necessary for its work and provides material and technical backup for the apparatus' activity. The funds for maintaining the CPSU CCC are determined at joint plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and CCC.

8. Differences which arise between the CPSU CCC and the CPSU Central Committee are resolved by conciliation commissions created on an equitable basis and also at joint plenums and sessions of the CPSU Central Committee and CPSU CCC bureaus. A joint decision is deemed to have been adopted if during separate voting at least two-thirds of the votes of Central Committee and CCC members are cast for it.

9. The CPSU CCC, on questions relating to its management, adopts resolutions, drafts acts on the results of inspections, and brings them to the attention of the CPSU Central COmmittee and the leaders of the institutions and enterprises inspected, who must report to the CPSU CCC On the measures taken.

Members of the CPSU CCC have the right to make use of all party documents.

NOVOSTI Questions Ryzhkov's Political Fate

LD0307123690 Hamburg DPA in German 1147 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—The semiofficial Soviet news agency NOVOSTI has expressed doubts as to the political survival of USSR Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov. "Nikolay Ryzhkov cannot be certain that his government will survive 12 July, the day on which the 28th CPSU Congress ends," according to the introduction to a NOVOSTI interview with the head of government, which was published on Tuesday.

In the interview, headlined "Does Nikolay Ryzhkov Remain Prime Minister?" the Politburo member also is asked about his future in the party leadership. "That will be decided by the communists, the delegates to the 28th party congress. I can only be grateful, if I get elected as a member of the Central Committee," Ryzhkov replied.

In this connection, NOVOSTI referred to the nationwide political strike by the miners, announced for 11 July, who are calling, among other things, for the resignation of the Ryzhkov-led Soviet Government. "The difficult problems of the miners have been mounting up for decades and cannot be solved in a single year. We have done what we could, even if not everything. Therefore the miners have every reason to express their point of view," the prime minister emphasized.

'Last Hopes' Pinned on CPSU Congress

PM0307124790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Jun 90 Single Edition p 1

[Vyacheslav Lukashevich article under the "Seven Days" rubric: "'Quiet' Week or Confrontation Syndrome"]

[Text] Last Saturday, the day St. John's Day, Ivan Polozkov outstripped his election rivals and became head of the Central Committee of the Russian party organization—the country's largest party organization. Ivan Kuzmich hardly had time to receive the congratulations of his supporters at the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Constituent Congress before the feedback telephone at the editorial office began to receive calls making ultimatums: "If Polozkov is elected, I'll leave the party"; "I want to stay in Gorbachev's party"; "I don't want to be in the same party as the Kuzmiches [reference to Polozkov and Ligachev]." So there you are, people are setting tough conditions from the outset—without seeing what's what.

Rabble-rousing methods of "shooting from the hip" and hitting one's opponent below the belt, so to speak, without mincing one's words or language seem to be being successfully assimilated today not only in the capitals but also in the most remote cities and villages and are also being adopted by certain now formal organizations, along with some as yet "informal" individuals. In my view, this has been greatly facilitated by certain statesmen and party figures who give demonstrations of "ruthless skirmishing" at congresses and conferences at every level. Admittedly, there were no forums last week, the Kremlin and other palaces were deserted, and television and newspaper (and possibly vice versa) editorial offices heaved a sigh of relief. Turbulent public life seemed to have finally given us eight quiet days to analyze all the political ups and downs and everything that was proclaimed and—to a lesser extent—done. But, as jockeys know, it is not so easy to stop fiery steeds.

The syndrome of confrontation, which worsened at the Russian communists' congress between "right-wingers" and "left-wingers," has moved to the primary echelons. The "Democrats" seem to have come to their senses too late. As is well known, the congress, which was described by Moscow Soviet Chairman G. Popov during a television audience with Muscovites on Tuesday as the "apparatchiks' revenge," has come to an end. The votes have been counted, the decisions ratified, and the seals ordered.

But today, after assessing the situation, extreme "left-wing" forces would like not so much to "brandish their fists after the fight" as to try to fundamentally change the situation. Polozkov is ranked among the incorrigible conservatives and Stalinists, the constituent congress is being declared incompetent, and the newly elected Central Committee members are described as no more than careerists "rushing to take up lofty posts." Attempts are now being made to postpone the date of the 28th congress, the KOMMUNIST editorial office "primary party organization" is now suggesting that the Moscow party gorkom [city committee] urgently convene a conference and adopt a decision not to join the RSFSR Communist Party, the capital's city soviet is refusing to accommodate members of the republic Communist Party Central Committee, and some communists are threatening not to pay their membership dues in protest, thus boycotting the Constituent Congress' resolutions.... The fact that the convening of the congress and the formation of the Russian Federation Communist Party represent a major victory for democratization is being completely forgotten here. Yet you will agree that it was hard to imagine this kind of thing happening even a year ago.

Yes, everything seems to have become confused in our party house. It is hard for a man with no involvement in political "antics" who works righteously in his kolkhoz [collective farm] field or in plant workshop to see who is right and who is wrong. Especially since first one "extreme" then the other in turn occupies the mass media "platform," and for some reason they cannot be brought together to produce a spark of truth from their public dialogue.

Well, if you so desire, you can reveal organizational and ideological miscalculations in the work of the Russian communists' congress. The body of delegates is, for instance, cause for discontent: Apparatus personnel make up 1,171 of the 2,768 delegates, while, on the other hand, representatives of the workers and peasants do not even total 10 percent. It is no coincidence that 200 people from the "Serp i Molot" plant were hastily invited to the congress.

One can of course categorize the newborn party's leader as a "quite odious figure" (in the words of Yu. Prokofyev, Moscow CPSU Gorkom first secretary) and the "military deputies' darling," or describe him as a "rightist figure" (I am patenting the tag used by MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI), but why is no one asking Krasnodar Kray's working people what kind of a man I. Polozkov is? After all, they know their first secretary best. Perhaps there is no need to ask questions. Just drive around cities and through villages, and look in the stores at the same time. I may be disappointing some people, but there are no "erotic" stores in Krasnodar Kray with obscenely bare shelves, as has been claimed, say, in the USSR capital. I do not know whether "right-wing" or "left-wing" sausage is sold there, but it definitely smells healthy.

Excuse me, but what's all the fuss about then? Principles? But I remember that this approach was condemned in the initial stages of perestroyka. The fact that someone's scenario made no provision for this "figure"? How can we fail to recall Lenin's words here about unity of political and practical action (I am not talking about the calls for unanimity that are ascribed to him). Since the masses simply will not follow the party if it lacks this

kind of unity. But time will tell whether the former contender for the post of chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet and B. Yeltsin's rival is "moving to the left." Although I do think that he has already taken the first step. Following his election as Communist Party leader Ivan Kuzmich said that he advocates political pluralism and consolidation and cooperation with the Russian parliament. However, we are all—both reformists and conservatives—born of stagnation.

I will cite two letters almost about this from the host of letters sent in response to the "Seven Days" articles. Moreover, I have deliberately chosen letters that I do not like very much, to be honest. "Vyacheslav," V. Ivanenko, a reader from Podolsk, writes, "people are not what they were five years ago. You don't realize that your 'daub' is transparent and obvious. I forgive some deputies who have challenged Yeltsin today with 'We'll reelect you' and other threats. What about you?" An even bleaker verdict comes from the pen of pensioner Shaburovaya from Sverdlovsk: "You are doing your utmost to try to disgrace honest people with filthy articles. You should be deprived of the post of journalist altogether. You're worse than an enemy!"

This is probably pluralism too. After all, to make use of the publicity that has made a comeback in the country, "Pluralism is choice! Choice of positions, choice of morality, choice of culture! Hurry up and get some pluralism!"

Our society seemed to be in no hurry, but it came upon us like a bolt from the blue nonetheless. Some people saw it as an open floodgate in the struggle for power by any means, others as infighting. Moreover, we journalists also gave cause for infighting by following speakers from the rallies.

I will bolster this idea with an example. We immediately ranked Colonel General A. Makashov's frank but less than eloquent speech at the Russian party congress—a speech which incidentally was backed by the delegates—among the "reactionary" speeches, and categorized the speaker himself among the "witches." What happened then? Someone said, go on, resign! While someone else added: It was he, a "politicized" general, who recently deprived his subordinates of social protection! And we were off! The general's supporters and enemies are multiplying, but the pain and bitterness of which he spoke have been effaced from public minds. But another goal has been achieved—even small waves help to rock the boat.

Is it not infighting between people, between newspapers, and between republics that is the source of the confused, headlong stream of disagreements and confrontation? When all ties are severed and the gulf between the two sides becomes wider and wider...

Certainly, no one can serve two masters. This was said hundreds of years ago. But they can both serve one homeland through love for it, loyalty, and duty. Is that not the deep meaning of the consolidation which both democrats and conservatives make a point of mentioning today? But they will not lift a finger to bring this accord closer for the sake of the people who are losing their last shreds of patience.

Perhaps that is why people are pinning their last hopes today on the 28th party congress. Will it judge wisely and urge society away from destruction to construction, or will it add to the tension and discord—our future will depend on it.

Delegates Cited on Party's Direction

PM030715219O Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jul 90 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[Report by N. Kozhanov, Yu. Makhrin, V. Naumov, L. Chausov, and A. Shinkin under general heading "Congress Diary, Day One"]

[Text] And so the first day of the 28th Party Congress is over. There is a saying: A good start is half the battle. Let us take a look at how the all-Union forum of communists started, try to gauge its atmosphere, and lend an ear to the great variety of divergent opinions that were expressed. After all, a great deal as regards the fate of the party, the country, and perestroyka depends on its work...

Among the numerous and diverse shortages which are rocking our society today there is one which, though lacking any tangible material shape or form, is increasingly affecting people's mood and world outlook. It is a lack of certainty, or to put it more specifically, of precise knowledge of where we are and, in Pushkin's words, "whither we should set sail." Virtually all the interviews with congress delegates prior to the beginning of the sittings were filled with the disturbing awareness of this lack of clarity which was by no means removed by the recent constituent congress of Russian communists, or the hope that the present 28th congress will ultimately define the political line which will lead us out of the protracted crisis.

Milkmaid N. Bondarenko has arrived in Moscow from Bryansk Oblast's Pogarskiy Rayon. What does she expect from the congress?

"Probably the same thing as everyone else," Nadezhda Ivanova replied. "Or, at least, as all the 87 party members on our "Bolshevik" kolkhoz [collective farm]. We expect a clear indication as to what road we should take to arrive at a better life. There are very many tough knots that need to be untied. To top it all, Chernobyl has left its black marks on Bryansk Oblast. There is an awful lot of hard work to be done, and what we expect from the congress are truly businesslike recommendations. And fewer empty words—there have been too many of them of late."

A more thorough answer to this question was provided by Mikolas Martinovich Burokevicius, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU) Central Committee.

"The present forum is particularly crucial," he said in conversation with Yu. Stroganov. "We expect decisions from the congress which will lead the party to organizational and ideological unity. We are against federalism in the CPSU structure. We are encouraged by the fact that even during the present public atmosphere in Lithuania people are increasingly beginning to understand who has the truth on their side. No, I certainly don't believe that we have reached an impasse, as our opponents are claiming. On the contrary, the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU) is expanding its social base. Our ranks are swelling. Whereas at the start of the year the republic party organization had only 32,000 communists left in it, their number today has topped 40,000. (For comparison: Only 20,000 people hold membership cards of the Lithuanian Communist Party which has withdrawn from the CPSU—according to information supplied by TIESA, the organ of that party). More than 100,000 people have yet to decide which of the two Communist Parties they want to belong to. They, too, are waiting to see what the 28th congress decides. [passage omitted]

...Microphones in the auditorium. Only in recent years have they become common practice. People can get up and express a suggestion or a proposal from where they are sitting, without delay. There is no denying that the discussion in any such auditorium has become more lively and heated. But what is this? More and more often people are complaining: "The 'free microphones' are being used to brazenly waste time, both for those who are present and for television viewers and radio listeners!" Similar complaints were heard repeatedly yesterday too. Some of the speakers were clearly abusing the "platform" provided by the microphone. Their statements had nothing in common with the nature of the questions under discussion—procedural questions, to be specific. They said what they liked. You simply had to share the anger of the auditorium at statements that had not been thought through. If you intend to take the floor and address an audience of several million, you ought to give it some thought, consult your comrades, be aware how weighty each of your words should be! So as not to cause problems for the person in the chair: "In general this may be understandable. But... it makes no sense."

At the recent CPSU Central Committee plenum M. Nenashev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Radio and Television Broadcasting, mentioned that the relays from the Constituent Congress of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communists would cost R5 million out of the party budget. Perhaps this sum made everyone waiting in line to take the floor consider not just what response his address would get, but also how much it would cost. I believe that it was this which prompted delegates to take the decision to relay in full on Central Television the opening and closure of the congress plus reports and accounts, while simultaneously organizing daily television reportages from the sittings. A press group has been set up. [passage omitted]

The Central Committee political report was essentially a continuation of the summing up of results, but it was by no means the conclusion of the debate within the party on its fate, authority, and role in society's life which has been under way for several months now. The debate, a heated and tough debate, continued yesterday during the breaks both before and after the report. A large group of people with "Democratic Platform" badges has gathered here. And a bit further on there are other groups. No matter which one you approach, the topic of discussion is the same: What people expect from the congress.

A large group of colleagues from the journalist corps has surrounded I. Polozkov, first secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee:

"Everyone here is talking about the need for consolidation. But only a blind person cannot see that, alas, by no means everyone is working toward it. Take, for instance, the so-called hard-line opposition. What does it demand that we reject? The socialist option, the communist perspective, democratic centralism... Excuse me, but these are not different opinions, they are a total rejection of our fundamental values. Personally, I call for the unification of the party's healthy forces, of communists who share my views.

"What else do I expect from the congress? That it take up a clear-cut position. If vague assessments, approaches, and measures again gain the upper hand, I believe that the people, and above all communists, will fail to get satisfaction from the current forum."

Quite. But let us listen to other assessments, other conclusions.

P. Bunich, USSR people's deputy:

"First of all I expect that this congress will be more to the left than the other, the Russian congress. If the last hope for a shift to the left does not come true, it could lead to a rapid disintegration of the CPSU.

"Now about unity. Take the programs of the CPSU and the Democratic Platform. They do not differ greatly. Both are unsatisfactory, in my opinion. Mainly from the economic viewpoint. Both are full of political blather and fail to answer the question of how we can get out of our economic situation. They are unconstructive. They do not contain a single figure! They are merely a list of slogans.

"Now about the political report. On the eve of the congress PRAVDA published a Maslyukov interview. He blamed everything on economics because, he claimed, it led to the unfreezing of the wages fund and gave too much independence to enterprises. The report contains no such criticism of economic science. Apart from that Maslyukov claimed that the USSR Supreme Soviet has instructed the government to put the finishing touches to the program for the transition to a regulated

market economy. But Mikhail Sergeyevich has said clearly: **to rework** the program. It gave me satisfaction to hear this word **rework** from Gorbachev. I was also pleased by the following statement of his: Price rises are not an attribute of the economic reform but rather its antipode."

M. Mamkhegov, chairman of the Kabarda-Balkar ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers:

"It is difficult to say on the first day of the congress how events will develop further. I would like the atmosphere at the congress not to resemble the mood on the Arbat, where I happened to be yesterday. There it amounts to a broadside attack on the party and the government. No one is denying that there have been many mistakes in the past, and that there are many miscalculations even today. However, to blame the leadership is unfair. It has to be apportioned to everyone, every communist. No one can assume the stance of a bystander. Everyone must see themselves as part of the world around us and realize his or her role in it. Only then will democracy be a creative force.

"And one more thing. When speaking about the mistakes of the past, we must think about the future. We need the truth not in order to overthrow everything, but in order to avoid straying from the right path again. God forbid, as they say, that the discussion at the congress takes the direction of the expression of emotions. In that case we will not be able to elaborate a concrete program of action for the CPSU.

"And it is badly needed. People are tired of uncertainty, hollow discussions, disorder, lack of discipline, and irresponsibility. For instance, a good harvest has been grown in our republic. But the question is whether we will manage to bring it in. There is a shortage of fuel and machinery. To top it all, we have received instructions from the RSFSR Council of Ministers a few days ago to dispatch 200 trucks to Stavropol Kray. How are we to manage? After all, we have no spare trucks. The weather is unsettled, so we must act promptly and energetically, to snatch the harvest...

"All these are attempts to resolve problems using old methods long at odds with reality. Meanwhile people are saying: What we need is a CPSU which has a specific program and a specific goal."

D. Karimov, first secretary of the Dushanbe Tajik Communist Party City Committee:

"We are forced to operate at the epicenter of social and ethnic problems, and I am simply thirsting for a strengthening of the party. A healthy party today is the core, the backbone of a healthy society. A weakening of the party will lead to general ruin. I agree that we must move away from the fusion of the party and state structures. But we must not try to skip stages and sharply renounce the vanguard role of the party. Such attempts today will lead to anarchy and chaos.

"And second. As the elections of the congress delegates and other elections have shown, an exclusion of the intellectual section of society from the work of the supreme forums is under way. This is bad: There is not enough of society's intellectual flower at the congress—decisions which would put us on the road toward humanism and democracy are proving difficult to elaborate. After all, the democratization of the party cannot be linked only with the working class. Today's intellectuals are the descendants of the proletarians who staged the revolution.

"But neither must we swing to the other extreme and fragment the party into totally autonomous sections. This would weaken our unity. Which is vitally necessary today, as I said earlier."

T. Ismailov, director general of a space research science-and-production association, Baku City:

"For me the main issue with which I have come to the congress is the question of consolidation. Personally I see no other real force in society than the CPSU. Only the party is capable today of advancing perestroyka, of expressing the interests of the whole people. We may criticize it and point out its shortcomings, but we must recognize this fact. We urgently need unity in the CPSU. This is the angle from which I view both the report and our congress.

"Naturally, for the CPSU to be a vanguard not by dint of the Constitution but through recognition by the whole people, a great deal needs to be changed in the party. It has to be transformed from a semimilitary organization into a live democratic structure in which there are no generals and no enlisted men. All members take part both in the elaboration of decisions and in their implementation.

"Stabilization of the situation in the country is the party's paramount task. There must be no more interethnic strife. These questions must be resolved using all methods and resources. And to this end intraparty democracy, in my opinion, must not run counter the sovereignty of republics. Mutual relations must be built on the basis of uniform statutes and a uniform program, but without petty tuteiage, granting maximum independence in the solution of questions relating to party organizations."

Ch. Aytmatov, writer, member of the Presidential Council:

"At present there are several platforms and currents within the party. It is impossible for them to reach a complete consensus. This is not the kind of unity I am talking about. What I want to avoid is a war of annihilation between the various currents, total nonacceptance, rejection, and even persecution. This kind of war will damage all the currents.

"What do I expect from the congress. I believe that a new revival of the CPSU will take place, although it will be

very difficult. A revival on the basis of democratic renewal. This is the course set by the Central Committee Political Report to the congress—honest, with a broad approach to all problems, and modern in spirit."

G. Gusev, member of the organizational office of the interclub party organization:

"At the Second All-Union conference of the Democratic Platform within the CPSU 20.9 percent of delegates voted for remaining in the CPSU. These people are prepared to strive for the further democratization of our party, they are communists who favor the Democratic Platform within rather than without the CPSU. And they are glad that a substantial part of their proposals has been incorporated in the draft documents of the 28th congress. The integration of ideas is obvious. So why is consolidation with us impossible? We are ready for it. We seek a consensus.

"I was not entirely satisfied with the Political Report. Nothing was said about the implementation of the decisions of the previous congress or the 19th All-Union Party Conference. The country is seething, it is in a state of upheaval, it is waiting for precise conclusions, and there are none."

Moscow Party 'Position' for 28th Congress

90UN2193A Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jun 90 p 1

[Position of the Moscow City Party Organization for the 28th CPSU Congress]

[Text] In order that the 28th CPSU Congress justify the hopes placed in it, vital importance is attached to an honest evaluation of the path thus far, the current moment, and the causes of the crisis, to the finding of mechanisms to overcome it, and to a radical reform of the party.

We, delegates to the 28th Moscow City CPSU Organization Conference, advocate at this critical time for the country and the party civic harmony and the consolidation of all political forces sharing the ideas of humanism, democracy, and socialism, and deem it necessary to set forth our position.

I. Evaluation of the Current Moment

Perestroyka has initiated major democratic changes in the country and contributed to an easing of international tension.

The truthful, albeit dramatic, comprehension of the path thus far and the actual problems of the present time has begun thanks to glasnost. New authorities have been elected and have started to operate, and the foundations of a society based on the rule of law and a civil multiparty society are being laid.

But it has to be acknowledged that all this is unfolding against the background of the country's general economic, political, and spiritual crisis.

The economic system which has taken shape has proven incapable on one-sixth of terra firma, rich in natural resources, of ensuring a life worthy of modern civilization for one-twentieth of the earth's population.

The natural environment is deteriorating as the result of irrational economic activity.

Average life expectancy is low compared with the developed capitalist countries.

The crisis processes have been manifested particularly in the past year or so.

Interethnic relations have been sharply exacerbated. The growth of crime and the disregard for morality have become an indication of the distressing state of society.

National income is declining, inflation is accelerating, the shortage of many foodstuffs and dry goods has assumed unprecedented proportions, and instability in the country is intensifying. The spheres of influence of the shadow economy are widening.

Statehood is weakening—laws and legal provisions are frequently not being fulfilled, and trust in the authorities is diminishing.

The political authority of the CPSU is on the wane. In addition, anticommunist sentiments have emerged and are increasing. There is a growing ideological and organizational crisis in the party itself, and passiveness and temporizing are typical of many communists and party committees.

II. Causes of the Crisis

Fundamentally the crisis is born of the policy based on dogmatic and simplistic ideas of socialism. The monopolism of state ownership and class ideology, the dictatorship of the party-administrative bureaucracy on behalf of the proletariat, and the unconditional priority of state over private interests prevented the surmounting of the alienation of the worker from ownership, the citizen from power, and the personality from culture.

There has been a depreciation of conscientious skilled labor, a diminution in interest in the efficient use of scientific-technological achievements and national resources, and the appreciable, albeit largely forced, militarization of economy.

In the years of totalitarianism and stagnation the upper echelons of the party and part of its apparatus degenerated into an antidemocratic power structure divorced from the masses and brought the local organizations to a state of political lack of rights.

Not forgetting the historic spurt which the country accomplished following the 1917 socialist revolution, it

has to be acknowledged today that this spurt cost a high price and many human lives.

As the ruling party for more than 70 years, the CPSU bears the political and moral responsibility for what has happened.

But, of course, it is necessary to distinguish between the degree of responsibility of the leaders of the party and the millions of communists who toiled honestly and selflessly and fought courageously for the freedom and independence of the motherland. The Moscow city party organization emphatically rejects attempts to cast a shadow on them and counterpose their interests to the cherished aspirations of the people.

A negative role in the intensification of the crisis processes shaking society today has been performed by the mistakes and miscalculations in implementation of the reforms under the conditions of perestroyka.

Having displayed political boldness in April 1985, the party leadership was unable to elaborate a consistent concept of perestroyka with a preview of all the major consequences in such an enormous country as the USSR.

The events of recent years have shown the low level of efficiency of the political and state leadership. Since the 27th CPSU Congress and, particularly, the 19th All-Union Party Conference, the Central Committee and its Politburo have lagged behind the development of events, primarily in the democratization of the party, and have frequently adopted decisions merely under pressure from public opinion.

III. Ways of Overcoming the Crisis

Evaluating the leading trends of world development, it has to be seen that they incorporate many socialist values. The social orientation of production is developing, and mechanisms involving the working people in the management process are being created. Production and distribution, the educational sphere, and social security are to an ever increasing extent becoming the concern of all of society.

The party's priority goal today is extrication of the country from the crisis by way of the implementation of concerted reforms in the political, economic, social, and spiritual spheres of society based on conscious socialist choice. For this it is essential, having secured social stability, to take the path of radical transformations of the state and the party and consolidate the public currents and groups supporting the working people's fundamental interests.

In the Political Sphere

Proceeding from the fact that our goal is in the foreseeable future a society of humane, democratic socialism, we support realization of the fundamental rights and liberties of man, peoples, and nations and social justice, and in the long term, achievement of a harmony of the interests of the individual and society, when the free development of each is the condition of the free development of all.

We consider as unacceptable monopolism and diktat in policy, ideology, and information, from wherever they emanate. No one should impede the appearance and activity of parties and social and political movements observing the Constitution and laws of the USSR.

We support the movement toward a state based on the rule of law and the separation of the legislature, executive, and judiciary. The state and the citizens should be linked by mutual responsibility, given the unconditional preeminence of democratically enacted laws.

As long as the world is militarized and the danger of armed conflicts exists, the country needs reliable defenses. Ensuring effective defense capability remains a most important function of the Soviet state.

The time has come for the conclusion on a voluntary basis of a new Union treaty allowing a diversity of forms of the country's national state arrangement, given unconditional observance of civil rights throughout its territory. It must take account in full of the legitimate right of the peoples and nations to self-determination and balance the interests of all republics, a sovereign RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] included. We are convinced here of the need for the preservation and infusion with modern content of our federation—the common home of all peoples of the USSR.

In the Economic Sphere

Under the conditions of the intensifying crisis, economic policy in the country must necessarily be geared to the freeing of management initiative and enterprise and the maximum stimulation of honest, highly productive labor.

It is time to draw practical conclusions from what has been shown by the best world experience. We advocate a highly efficient and socially oriented economic system including:

the right to exist of various forms of ownership, given the priority of collective forms;

the market as the basic regulator of economic relations;

state levers of economic management under the control of society;

a purposeful antitrust policy.

The Moscow city organization of the CPSU advocates consistent economic reform and the staged transition to a controlled commodities, finances, and resources market.

This requires the legislative admission of the transfer of some state-owned enterprises and property to collective and individual tenancy, joint-stock ownership, the

speediest realization of antitrust measures, credit and financial reform, and the elaboration of legislation geared to the elimination of the conditions engendering the shadow economy.

The denationalization of the economy cannot be turned into just another campaign "sent down from above," and the appearance of the new forms of ownership must not be imposed and forced.

We support equivalent economic relations of the agrarian and industrial sectors.

For formulation of the collective position of the CPSU on the main areas of the economic reform—inclusion of this item on the agenda of the 28th congress, discussion of alternative concepts, and the adoption of a political decision.

The congress should responsibly evaluate here the possible negative consequences of the transition to a controlled market economy, at its first stage particularly.

In the Social Sphere

The main goal of the party's social policy is to ensure people's decent living standard. The system of social protection of the working people and the needy categories of the population and also servicemen should be developed pri[illegible]ially in the period of transition to market relations.

It is essential to guarantee a minimum wage by way of the efficient state control of prices of basic foods and an increase in pensions, grants, and benefits in accordance with inflation.

Programs of the redistribution of labor resources and retraining, the creation of funds to compensate workers who have been released, and the payment of unemployment benefit are needed.

On matters of employment and social guarantees for the working people the government and management locally should take account of the demands of the trade unions.

The Moscow city organization of the CPSU is emphatically opposed to discrimination in the sphere of labor on national, political, and other grounds.

We consider essential an expansion of housing construction with the use of diverse sources of financing without a reduction in the rate of the building of housing thanks to government resources, given its fair allocation and use.

We uphold the guaranteed right of each to free state medical services with guaranteed access to modern methods of diagnostics and treatment, with the possibility of the development of other forms thereof, and the right to environmental safety and healthy surroundings and way of life.

The communists should struggle for the adoption by the government of programs geared to an improvement in the position of women, children, the youth, veterans, and invalids and support for the family as the primary cell of society.

In the Spiritual Sphere

The creation of conditions for the manifestation of the free, creative, and moral personality is needed today more than ever. Its formation is possible only given the preservation and resurrection of the spiritual, moral, and historical values of the fatherland. The priority allocation of government resources for the development of culture, science, and education as the basic sources of the progress of a society with a guaranteed future is essential.

The building of a modern, civilized society is impossible without full-fledged education and culture. Their priority development is a most important component of CPSU policy. It is essential to accelerate the enactment of USSR laws on public education and culture.

They must be accessible to all, regardless of difference in income.

We support the right of the individual to cultural choice, freedom of creativity, association in artistic unions, and the creation of charitable and cultural foundations.

In the name of the spiritual health of the people art should be based on government and public support. Its transfer to an exclusively commercial basis is impermissible.

We are prepared for cooperation with all public forces in a revival of morality.

IV. Reform of the Party

We have reached the point where the hampering of or further delay in a cardinal reform of the party will inevitably lead to its loss of the people's trust. We cannot let slip the opportunity which still exists to convert the CPSU into a modern and efficient political force possessing real public authority.

What should a renewed CPSU be like?

It is a party of social progress and reforms which sets as its goal movement toward humane, democratic socialism.

It is a party which has emphatically cast aside ideas concerning society which have failed to justify themselves and which is based on values common to all mankind and the highest achievements of world civilization.

The ideological legacy of Marx, Engels, and Lenin is the main, but not the sole, source of the contemporary ideology of the Communist Party. It is faced with a most complex task: elaboration of a modern concept of socialism and the communist perspective.

It is a party operating in accordance with the Constitution and laws of the USSR which defends its right to

political leadership in the course of honest, democratic elections to the organs of state power.

The party's parliamentary activity and its participation in the work of the soviets of people's deputies is an important but not the sole mission of the CPSU. It must involve itself in ideas and theory and ideological and organizational work.

The activity of party organizations in the work force in defense of the working people's political and social interests and extensive political work in the masses are at this stage not only justified but also essential. How this is done is up to the primary organizations and the communists themselves to decide. Simultaneously, present-day political life demands the CPSU's increased influence according to the place of residence.

Members of the party may unite on a territorial, production, professional, specific-goal, and other grounds, join any public organizations and participate in their work, unless this contradicts the program aims and rules of the CPSU.

The CPSU must aspire to broaden its social base and attract supporters and political allies, particularly among the youth.

The actual course of events shows that the party cannot speak on behalf of the whole people. Society is becoming increasingly complex, and varidirectional social and political forces, polar- opposite included, have emerged in it. Under these conditions the potential base of the renewed party are broad strata of society, primarily workers, rural workmen, the intelligentsia, and office workers tying their fate to socialism.

Under the conditions of separation of the functions of the CPSU and the state, the party structures should be separated from the political authorities in the USSR Armed Forces, KGB, and Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The profound democratization of intraparty life has long been urgent. The CPSU must be a vital, developing political organization and must not subordinate and suppress its members but unite them around the common goal.

The genuine foundation of the party should be the primary party organizations. It is essential to ensure their organizational and financial independence and make the activity of various horizontal associations the rule.

Party policy should be shaped by starting from the local structures.

We advocate preservation of the multitier nature of the party and the numbers of full-time party officials.

Complete clarity must be achieved in matters of party property and the use of monetary resources, and all privileges and benefits not envisaged by law must be eliminated.

The CPSU must be a truly democratic party based on the power of the party masses, party comradeship, and conscious discipline. It must operate on the basis of democratic principles combining direct, secret, and multiple-choice elections of the directive authorities, glasnost, accessibility to party information for the communists, and the regular accountability of the superior authorities with the obligatory subordination of the minority to the majority and compliance with the decisions of party congresses, conferences, and meetings.

Intraparty democracy should include here dependable assurances of the rights of the minority and exposition of its views in the party media, and the right of each communist to defend his opinion in the course of discussion of questions of principle of party policy.

We regard the party's information organs as an important means of realization of its policy and ideology and of organizational and ideological-educational work. The editorial offices of party publications should be elected and be accountable to party congresses, conferences, and meetings. While recognizing the existence of various political platforms as possible within the CPSU, at the same time we consider unacceptable the formation of independent factions ignoring the CPSU Rules and the decisions of party congresses and conferences. Such factionalism under the conditions of a multiparty system merely plays havoc with the party and provokes its division.

A danger for the party today is the division of communists adhering to positions of perestroyka and advocating the renewal of the CPSU. Their consolidation is both essential and possible. Ultimately this is the guarantee of the party's escape from the crisis.

While recognizing the right of the CPSU Central Committee to evaluate the situation in the party, which was made in the well- known "Open Letter of the CPSU Central Committee to the Country's Communists," we believe it was essential for this important political document to have been discussed at a CPSU Central Committee plenum. We are convinced that under the conditions of developed intraparty debate there should have been no witting or unwitting prompting of organizational measures in respect of its participants.

The ideological and organizational basis of the party and its contemporary political line may finally be determined by the congress, and only the congress.

Moscow's communists are for the maximum broadening of the rights of the republic party organizations. They should be fully independent in their organizational composition and tactics of action. But the winding down of interrepublic ties and abandonment of the formulation of joint policy and the solidarity of the country's communists would be a serious mistake.

The Russian party conference, represented by delegates to the 28th congress, should adopt a decision on the formation of a Communist Party of the RSFSR within

the CPSU. It would be expedient to conduct elections of its directive authorities after the 28th CPSU Congress with preliminary discussion in the primary party organizations.

The 28th congress should make a personal evaluation of the work of members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, Secretariat, and the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, and appreciably replace the central party authorities.

We call on all communists advocating a renewal of the CPSU to prevent at this crucial time any rash, thoughtless actions leading to its weakening or, even more, disintegration, to seek mutually acceptable decisions, and to strive to ensure that the coming congress make them the basis of its program documents.

Leningrad Party Chief Interviewed on Congress

PM030716219O London ITV Television Network in English 1800 GMT 2 July 90

[Interview with Boris Gidaspov, Leningrad Oblast CPSU Committee First Secretary, in Russian with superimposed English translation, by news reporter Jon Snow in Moscow; no date given—recorded]

[Text] [Snow] I asked Mr. Gidaspov if he'd really come to Moscow to work with Mr. Gorbachev or to bury him.

[Gidaspov] Why do you use such a strong expression? I've come to do neither the one thing or the other: I've come here to support Gorbachev. I don't intend to work with him here, but we won't bury him.

[Snow] But do you really want him to be the leader of the Communist Party, and if so, for how long?

[Gidaspov] Yes, of course. I think that in this transitional period, when our party and society are experiencing such major problems, he must be general secretary of the party and definitely president. This strengthens his presidential authority and very strongly reinforces the party's influence, and if this stopped being the case, it could produce very serious problems—social, political, economic, and also on international relations.

[Snow] But what is your strategy: You want to get the conservatives consolidated behind Mr. Gorbachev and exclude the radicals?

[Gidaspov] It's important to preserve the unity of forces of those in the center of the party and society and of those who are to the left of them—and also to bring in the healthy forces of the right. If we can consolidate this, it will satisfy all sectors of society.

[Snow] Do you mind, then, if anybody walks out of this congress?

[Gidaspov] Now for the moment this is just at the level of talk, and in society's present condition, such a division would be premature. We have to learn not just to talk but to listen to each other, but of course those people who think differently can go.

[Snow] The Communist Party launched on perestroyka in 1985, and since then, you have persistently failed with economic reform. Isn't there a danger the congress is going to be irrelevant to the problems of the country?

[Gidaspov] I don't think so. We've made a major turnaround and adopted many positions which used to be seen as revisionism—going along with the Hungarians, returning to capitalism. But, naturally, this has created tensions in society: Not everyone has accepted it and understood what we've done. But I hope that we won't allow those conservative forces to triumph who would revive such slogans which would undermine perestroyka.

Ukrainian Delegation Holds Press Conference

LD0307123190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1110 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Moscow, 3 Jul (TASS)—"Whatever line is victorious at the 28th CPSU Congress, the Ukrainian Communist Party does not intend to become anybody's political vassal," stated Stanislav Gurenko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. He spoke today at a meeting the Ukrainian Communist Party delegation held with Soviet and foreign journalists at the 28th CPSU Congress press center.

Stanislav Gurenko gave those present details about the results of the first stage of the forum of Ukrainian communists, which has just ended, noting that that congress set a decisive course for increasing the independence of the republican communist party. He expressed disagreement with the allegations that have appeared to the effect that the Ukrainian Communist Party Congress was "conservative in spirit and composition." In Gurenko's words, it was possible there "to avoid unnecessary skirmishes and unfounded criticism, and also find real paths for preserving the party's unity."

He reported that the Ukrainian delegation taking part in the work of the 28th CPSU Congress, which opened yesterday, is the second in size, with 804 members. Each of them has his own opinion, but the general position is united by the program document, developed at the forum of Ukrainian communists, Stanislav Gurenko stressed.

Answering a question on the Ukrainian Communist Party's attitude to the political strike by Donbass miners, planned for 11 July, he expressed the hope that it will be possible to avert this conflict. Gurenko reported that according to unofficial information in his possession, "the USSR coal industry minister has made a decision to satisfy the miners' basic economic demand: to increase the length of paid leave."

Appraising the present political situation in the Ukraine at the correspondents' request, the Ukrainian Communist Party leader admitted that "the national element is

beginning to be heard ever more loudly in politics." This is reflected by the presence of an official opposition in the republic's Supreme Soviet. However, he said, the majority of deputies in the parliament consider that "the development of a socialist Ukraine in a renewed federation is realistic," but this also depends on the process of events in other Union republics, Gurenko stressed.

Commentary Views Party Democratization as 'Vital'

LD0107212290 Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Vitaliy Gurov commentary]

[Text] Never before, at least in the recent past, has the news of the coming congress evoked such a great polarization of views, both among party members and the public at large. Graphic descriptions of events, such as history or epoch-making or trimuphant, often give way to lower key or even negative assessments. Consolidation or split is perhaps the most crucial question the congress is facing now. The answer to this question and the fate of the party which is losing, alas, its hold on the ground, are causing worries among many of its nearly 19 million members.

Reasons to explain the party's dwindling prestige are many, but the main one is the current crisis in the economic and social areas. Oddly enough, the Communist Party, which trumpeted the policy of comprehensive reform, has remained, as it were, a bystander or, occasionally and in theory, in charge of the process but holding back to its old positions. No wonder the problems of renewal or, to put it more exactly, democratizing party life, has now become of vital importance.

Incidentally, it's a democratization of the ways in which it's run that many party members want in the first place, both the rank-and-file members and the party elite. A senior Politburo member, Vadim Medvedev, said recently that the existing pyramid of party hierarchy must be turned upside down by democratic elections and party referendums which will create a machinery enabling each communist to have a say in decision-making. That in itself could be the gist of a caring socialist society that the party is calling for now.

For his part, another senior politburo member, Aleksandr Yakovlev, believes that whatever helps raise the individual's dignity and welfare is socialist. In the long run, socialism is a society of freedom. This uncontestable truth, however, is being challenged by a sizable part of the delegates to the congress who hold class interests above human values and cling to the old argument about the party's leading role in society in their stuck-in-the-mud approach to the party.

Although the possibility of a clash between hardliners and radicals is not excluded, consolidating party ranks is far more important. The chances of greater unity are big, given the compromising nature of two main papers coming under discussion, a program declaration and new party rules. Will the congress seek a compromise? Well, it might. A major split is not on the cards, albeit defection is possible. Whether or not the party emerges with a new image after the congress is more essential, but trying to forecast anything on that may be an unrewarding job. Time alone will tell what happens.